THE

HISTORY

OF

MODERN EUROPE.

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF

THE DECLINE AND FALL

OF THE

ROMAN EMPIRE,

AND A VIEW OF

THE PROGRESS OF SOCIETY.

FROM THE

RISE of the MODERN KINGDOMS

TO THE

PEACE of PARIS, in 1763.

IN A

SERIES of LETTERS from a NOBLEMAN to his SON.

A NEW EDITION, carefully corrected.

VOL. I.

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TO HIS GRACE

FRANCIS,

DUKE OF BEDFORD,

THIS

IMPROVED EDITION

OF THE

HISTORY

OF

MODERN EUROPE,

IS

RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED,

BY

HIS GRACE'S MOST HUMBLE,

N D

MOST OBEDIENT SERVANT,

Gray's Inn,
May 29, 1786.

WILLIAM RUSSELL.

ADVERTISEMENT.

A PERSUASION of the Utility of a concise History of Modern Europe, induced the Author to undertake this Work: and he has had the Satisfaction to find his Opinion justified by that of the Public. The Epistolary Form was chosen, as best calculated in tracing the concatenation of Events, for uniting the Accuracy of the Chronologer with the Entertainment of the Memorialist. And the Character of a Nobleman and a Father was assumed, in order to give more Weight to the Moral and Political Maxims, and to entitle the Author to offer, without seeming to dictate to the World, such Reflections on Life and Manners as are supposed more immediately to belong to the higher Orders in Society.

To this Edition, which is much enlarged and improved, is added a Chronological Table of Contents.

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THE HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE.

PART I.

From the Rise of the Modern Kingdoms to the Peace of Westphalia, in 1648.

LETTER I.

Decline *and* Fall *of the* Roman Empire, *and the* Settlement *of the* Barbarians.

YOU have already, my dear Philip, finiſhed your courſe of Ancient Hiſtory, under your preceptor: in the elements of Modern Hiſtory I myſelf will undertake to inſtruct you. The eſtabliſhment of the preſent European nations; the origin of our laws, manners, and cuſtoms; the progreſs of ſociety, of arts, and of letters, demand your particular attention, and were ill committed to the diſquiſitions of a mere ſcholar.

Europe is the theatre on which the human character has appeared to moſt advantage, and where ſociety has attained its moſt perfect form, both in ancient and

their proper flavour, their proper size, or their proper taste. The spontaneous produce of the forest, though somewhat harsh, is preferable to what is raised by such forced culture: and the native dignity, the native manners, and rude virtues of the barbarian, are superior to all that can be taught the slave. When mankind are obliged to look up to a master for honour and consequence, to flatter his foibles, and to fear his frown, cunning takes place of wisdom, and treachery of fortitude; the mind loses its vigour, the heart its generosity, and man, in being polished, is only debased.

THIS truth was never, perhaps, more strikingly exemplified than in the history of the Roman empire. The degrading influence of its dominion, more than any other circumstance, hastened its final dissolution; for although the conquered nations were by that means more easily kept in subjection, they became unable to resist a foreign enemy, and might be considered as decayed members of the body politic, which increased its size without increasing its strength. An appearance of prosperity, indeed, succeeded to the havock of war; the ruined cities were rebuilt, and new ones founded; population flourished; civilization advanced; the arts were cultivated; but the martial and independent spirit of the people of the nothern provinces was so totally extinct in a few centuries, that instead of preferring death to slavery, like so many of their illustrious ancestors, they patiently submitted to any contribution which a rapacious governor was pleased to levy. And the descendants of those gallant warriors, who had disputed the field with the Roman legions under Cæsar and Germanicus, were unable to oppose the most desultory inroads of a troop of undisciplined barbarians. They were become incapable of either thinking or acting for themselves. Hence all the countries, which had been subjected to the Roman

yoke,

THE fall of Carthage, and the expulsion of the Gauls out of Italy, though seemingly the two most fortunate events in the Roman history, contributed also to a change of manners, and to the extinction of Roman liberty. While Carthage subsisted, the attention of all parties was carried toward that rival state; to defend themselves, or annoy their enemies, was the only care of the Romans: and as long as the Gauls had possessions in the neighbourhood of Rome, her citizens were united by the sense of a common danger; but no sooner were their fears from abroad removed, than the people grew altogether ungovernable. Ambitious men took advantage of their licentiousness; party clashed with party. A master became necessary, in order to terminate the horrors of civil war, as well as to give union and vigour to the state. Interest and vanity made courtiers; force or fear, slaves. The people were disarmed by the jealousy of despotism, and corrupted by the example of an abandoned court. Effeminacy, debauchery, profligacy, and every atrocious vice, was common upon the throne.

A NEW source of ruin disclosed itself. Some disputed successions having made the army sensible that the sovereignty was in their hands, they thenceforth sold it to the highest bidder. Sporting with the lives of their princes, as formerly with the laws of the republic, they created emperors only to extort money from them, and afterward massacred them, in order to extort like sums from their successors. Emperors were opposed to emperors, and armies disputed the pretensions of armies. With obedience discipline was lost. Wise princes endeavoured, but in vain, to restore it: their zeal to maintain the ancient military regulations only exposed them to the fury of the soldiery; the very name of discipline was a signal for revolt,

volt. The armies of Rome did not now consist of free men, who had voluntarily chosen a military life; or who, in obedience to the laws, served for a term of years, but of mercenaries collected from the provinces, or barbarians bribed into the service, as more able to undergo the fatigues of war. Her soldiers were no longer citizens armed in defence of their country, they were its oppressors; they were licensed robbers, insatiable of plunder.

In order to prevent the continual treasons of the soldiery, but especially of the Pretorian bands, the emperors associated with themselves in the supreme power, their sons, their brothers, or such persons as they could trust; and every emperor elected a Cæsar, or successor. They likewise subdivided, and consequently diminished, the power of the Pretorian prefects who were the grand viziers of their time, appointing four instead of two. By these means the imperial seat was rendered more secure: the emperors were permitted to die in their beds; manners were softened, and less blood was shed by ferocity; but the state was wasted by an enormous expence, and a new species of oppression took place, no less disgraceful to humanity than the former massacres. The tyranny was transferred from the soldiery to the prince: the cause and the mode were changed, but the effect was the same. Shut up within the walls of a palace, surrounded by flatterers and women, and sunk in the softness of Eastern luxury, those masters of empire governed in secret by the dark and subtle artifices of despotism. Iniquitous judgements, under the form of justice, seemed only to set death at a distance, in order to make life more miserable, and existence more precarious. Nothing was said, all was insinuated: every man of prime reputation was accused; and the warrior and the politician daily saw themselves at the mercy of

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ſycophants, who had neither ability to ſerve the ſtate themſelves, nor generoſity to ſuffer others to ſerve it with honour [4].

THE removal of the imperial court to Conſtantinople, to ſay nothing of the ſubſequent diviſion of the empire into Eaſtern and Weſtern, was a new blow to the grandeur of Rome, and likewiſe to its ſecurity: for the veteran legions, that guarded the banks of the Danube and the Rhine, were alſo removed to the Eaſt, in order to guard another frontier; and Italy, robbed of its wealth and inhabitants, ſunk into a ſtate of the moſt annihilating languor. Changed into a garden by an Aſiatic pomp, and crowded with villas, now deſerted by their voluptuous owners, this once fertile country was unable to maintain itſelf; and when the crops of Sicily and Africa failed, the people breathed nothing but ſedition.

THESE diſcontents occaſioned by the removal of the imperial court, were heightened by thoſe of religion. Chriſtianity had long been making progreſs in the empire, it now aſcended the throne of the Cæſars. As the Chriſtians had formerly been perſecuted, they, in their turn, became perſecutors. The Gods of Rome were publicly inſulted, their ſtatues were broken, their votaries were harraſſed. Penal ſtatutes were enacted againſt the ancient worſhip: the puniſhment of death was denounced againſt the ſacrifices formerly ordained by law; the altar of Victory was overturned, the Croſs was exalted in its ſtead, and diſplayed in place of that triumphant eagle, under which the world had been conquered [5]. The moſt dreadful hates and animoſities

4. Monteſq. *Conſiderat. ſur les Cauſes de la Grandeur des Romains, et de leur Decad.* chap. xv. xvi. xvii. and the authors there cited, but eſpecially Tacitus, Ammianus Marcellinus, and Zoſimus.

5. Four reſpectable deputations were ſucceſſively voted to the imperial court, repreſenting the grievances of the prieſthood and the ſenate, and ſoliciting the reſtoration of the altar of Victory. The conduct of this

ties arose. The Pagans accused the Christians of all their misfortunes: they rejoiced in the midst of the greatest calamities, as if the Gods had been come in person to take vengeance on the destroyers of their altars; while the Christians affirmed, that the remains of Paganism alone had drawn down the wrath of Omnipotence. Both parties were more occupied about their religious disputes than the common safety; and, to complete the miseries of this unhappy people, the Christians became divided among themselves. New sects sprung up; new disputes took place; new jealousies and antipathies raged; and the same punishments were denounced against Heretics and Pagans. An universal bigotry debased the minds of men. In a grand assembly of the provinces, it was proposed, That, as there are three persons in the Trinity, they ought to have three emperors. Sieges were raised, and cities lost, for the sake of a bit of rotten wood, or withered bone, which was supposed to have belonged to some saint or martyr. The effeminacy of the age mingled itself with this infatuation; and generals, more weak than humane, sat down to mourn the calamities of war, when they should intrepidly have led on their troops to battle [6].

THE character of the people with whom the Romans had to contend was, in all respects, the reverse

this important business was entrusted to Symmachus, a noble and eloquent senator, who thus makes Rome herself plead, before the imperial tribunal, in favour of the ancient worship:—"These rites have "repelled Hannibal from the city, and the Gauls from the capitol. "Were my grey hairs reserved for such intolerable disgrace? I am ignorant of the new system that I am required to adopt; but I am "well assured, that the correction of old age is always an ungrateful "and ignominious office." Symmach. lib. x. epist. 54.

6. Montesq. *Considerat.* &c. chap. xviii—xxii. See also Gibbon's *Hist. of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. iii.—vi. and the authors there quoted.

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PART I. of their own. Thoſe northern adventurers, or Barbarians, as they were called, breathed nothing but war. Their martial ſpirit was yet in its vigour. They ſought a milder climate, and lands more fertile than their foreſts and mountains: the ſword was their right; and they exerciſed it, without remorſe, as the right of nature. Barbarous they ſurely were, but they were ſuperior to the people they invaded, in virtue as well as in valour. Simple and ſevere in their manners, they were unacquainted with the name of luxury; any thing was ſufficient for their extreme frugality. Hardened by exerciſe and toil, their bodies ſeemed inacceſſible to diſeaſe or pain: war was their element; they ſported with danger, and met death with expreſſions of joy. Though free and independent, they were firmly attached to their leaders; becauſe they followed them from choice, not from conſtraint, the moſt gallant being always dignified with the command. Nor were theſe their only virtues. They were remarkable for their regard to the ſanctity of the marriage bed; their generous hoſpitality, their deteſtation of treachery and falſehood. They poſſeſſed many maxims of civil wiſdom, and wanted only the culture of reaſon to conduct them to the true principles of ſocial life [7].

WHAT could the divided, effeminate, and now daſtardly Romans oppoſe to ſuch a people? Nothing but fear and folly; or, what was ſtill more ignominious, treachery. Soon convinced that the combat was unequal, they attempted to appeaſe their invaders by money: but that peace could not be of long continu-

7. Tacit. *de Moribus Germ.* Priſcus, *Exerpt. de Legat.* Jornandes, *de Reb. Get.* "As in poliſhed ſocieties," ſays Ammianus Marcellinus, ſpeaking of the Huns, "eaſe and tranquillity are courted, they delight in war and dangers. He who falls in battle is reckoned happy; while they, who die of old age or diſeaſe, are held infamous." *Hiſt.* lib. xxxi.

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ance, which put those who sold it in a better condition to sell another. Force is seldom just. These voluntary contributions were changed into a tribute, which was demanded as a right; and war was denounced when it was refused, or fell short of the customary sum. Tributes were multiplied upon tributes, till the empire was drained of its treasure. Another expedient was then fallen upon: large bodies of the Barbarians were taken into pay, and opposed to other Barbarians. This mode of defence, so contrary to the practice of the first Romans, answered for the moment, but terminated in ruin: those auxiliaries proved the most dangerous enemies to the empire. Already acquainted with the Roman luxuries, the Roman wealth, and the Roman weakness, they turned their arms against their masters, inviting their countrymen to come and share with them in the spoils of a people unworthy of so many accommodations. They were likewise become acquainted with what little military skill yet remained among the Romans; and that, superadded to their natural intrepidity, made them perfectly irresistible. A third expedient, yet more unworthy of the Roman name, was had recourse to:—assassination was employed by the emperors against those princes, or leaders, whose arms they feared; it was even concealed beneath the mask of friendship, and perpetrated under the roof of hospitality! in the convivial hour, and at the festive board [8].

This diabolical practice, the want of faith, and other unmanly vices of the Romans, not only account for the total subversion of their empire, but also for many of the cruelties of the conquerors. Inflamed with the passion of revenge, no less than the thirst of conquest or the lust of plunder, the inflexible and high spirited, though naturally generous Barbarians, were equally deaf to the offers of treaty and the voice of

8. Montesquieu and Gibbon, ubi sup.

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ſupplication. Wherever they marched, their route was marked with blood. The moſt fertile and populous provinces were converted into deſerts. Italy, and Rome itſelf, was often pillaged. New invaders, from regions more remote and barbarous, drove out, or exterminated the former ſettlers: and Europe was ſucceſſively laid waſte, till the North, by pouring forth its myriads, was drained of people, and the ſword of ſlaughter tired of deſtroying.

In leſs than an hundred years after the firſt northern invaſion, ſcarce any remains of the laws, manners, arts, or literature of the Romans were left in our quarter of the globe. By the beginning of the ſixth century, the Viſigoths had poſſeſſed themſelves of Spain; the Franks of Gaul; the Saxons of the Roman provinces in South Britain; the Huns of Pannonia; the Oſtrogoths of Italy, and the adjacent provinces. New governments, laws, languages; new manners, cuſtoms, dreſſes; new names of men and of countries everywhere prevailed. A total change took place in the ſtate of Europe [9].

How far this change ought to be lamented, is not now a matter of much diſpute. The human ſpecies was reduced to ſuch a degree of debaſement by the preſſure of Roman deſpotiſm, that we can hardly be ſorry at any means, however violent, which removed or lightened the load. But we cannot help lament-

9. A ſimilar change was ſoon to take place in the ſtate of Aſia, great part of which was ſtill ſubject to the emperors of Conſtantinople. Theſe emperors, though gradually robbed of their Aſiatic provinces by the followers of Mahomet, continued to preſerve, in the Eaſt, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſee, an image of Roman greatneſs, long after Rome had been ſacked by the Barbarians, and the Roman dominion finally extinguiſhed in the Weſt. The Roman provinces in Africa were already over-run by the Vandals, who had ſpread deſolation with fire and ſword.

ing at the ſame time, that this revolution was the work of nations ſo little enlightened by ſcience or poliſhed by civilization: for the Roman laws, though ſomewhat corrupted, were yet in general the beſt that human wiſdom had framed; and the Roman arts and literature, though much declined, were ſtill ſuperior to any thing found among rude nations, or which thoſe who ſpurned them produced for many ages.

THE contempt of the Barbarians for the Roman improvements is not wholly, however, to be aſcribed to their ignorance, nor the ſuddenneſs of the revolution to their deſolating fury; the manners of the conquered muſt come in for a ſhare. Had the Romans not been in the loweſt ſtate of national degeneracy, they might ſurely have civilized their conquerors; had they retained any of the virtues of men among them, they might have continued under the government of their own laws. Many of the northern leaders were endowed with great abilities, and ſeveral of them were acquainted both with the policy and literature of the Romans: but they were juſtly afraid of the contagious influence of Roman example; and therefore avoided every thing allied to that name, whether hurtful or otherwiſe [10]. They erected a cottage in the neighbourhood of a palace, breaking down the ſtately building, and burying in its ruins the fineſt works of human ingenuity: they ate out of veſſels of wood, and made the vanquiſhed be ſerved in veſſels of ſilver; they hunted the boar on the voluptuous parterre, the trim garden, and expenſive pleaſure-ground, where effeminacy was wont to ſaunter, or indolence to loll;

10. "When we would brand an enemy," ſays an enlightened barbarian, "with diſgraceful and contumelious appellations, we call him a *Roman*; a name which comprehends whatever is baſe, cowardly, avaricious, luxurious—in a word, lying, and all other vices." Luitprand. *Legat.* ap. Murat. vol. ii.

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and they paſtured their herds, where they might have raiſed a luxuriant harveſt. They prohibited their children the knowledge of literature, and of all the elegant arts; becauſe they concluded from the daſtardlineſs of the Romans, that learning tends to enervate the mind, and that he who has trembled under the rod of a pedagogue will never dare to meet a ſword with an undaunted eye [11]. Upon the ſame principle they rejected the Roman juriſprudence. It reſerved nothing to the vengeance of man: they therefore, not unphiloſophically, thought it muſt rob him of his active powers. Nor could they conceive how the perſon injured could reſt ſatisfied, but by pouring out his fury upon the author of the injuſtice. Hence all thoſe judicial combats, and private wars, which for many ages deſolated Europe.

In what manner light aroſe out of this darkneſs, order out of this confuſion, and taſte out of this barbariſm, we ſhall have occaſion to obſerve in the courſe of hiſtory: how genius and magnificence diſplayed themſelves in a new mode, which prevailed for a time, and was exploded; how the ſons came to idolize that literature which their fathers had proſcribed, and wept over the ruins of thoſe ſculptures, paintings, buildings, which they could not reſtore; digging from dunghills, and the duſt of ages, the models of their future imitations, and enervating themſelves with the ſame arts which had enervated the Romans.

In the mean time we muſt take a view of the ſyſtem of policy and legiſlation eſtabliſhed by the Barbarians on their firſt ſettlement.

11. Procop. *Bell Goth.* lib. i.

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LETTER II.

SYSTEM *of* POLICY *and* LEGISLATION *established by the* BARBARIANS, *on settling in the* PROVINCES *of the* ROMAN EMPIRE.

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THE ancient Gauls, the Britons, the Germans, the Scandinavians, and all the nations of the north of Europe, had a certain degree of conformity in their government, manners, and opinions. The same leading character, and the same degree of conformity was also observable among their more modern descendants, who, under the names of Goths and Vandals, dismembered the Roman empire. Alike distinguished by a love of war and of liberty, by a persuasion that force only constitutes right, and that victory is an infallible proof of justice, they were equally bold in attacking their enemies, and in resisting the absolute domination of any one man. They were free even in a state of submission. Their primitive government was a kind of military democracy, under a general or chieftain, who had commonly the title of king. Matters of little consequence were determined by the principal men, but the whole community assembled to deliberate on national objects. The authority of their kings or generals, who owed their eminence entirely to their military talents, and held it by no other claim, was extremely limited: it consisted rather in the privilege of advising, than in the power of commanding. Every individual was at liberty to chuse whether he would engage in any warlike enterprise. They therefore followed the chieftain who led them forth in quest of new settlements from inclination, not controul[1]; as volunteers who offered to accompany him, not as soldiers

1. Cæsar. *de Bell. Gall.* lib. vi. Tacit *de Moribus German.* cap. xi—xlvi. Amm. Marcel. lib. xxxi. Prif. *Rhet.* ap. Byz. Script. vol. i.

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diers whom he could order to march. They confidered their conquefts as common property, in which all had a right to fhare, as all had contributed to acquire them: nor was any obligation whatfoever entailed on the poffeffors of lands thus obtained. Every one was the lord of his own little territory.

But after fettling in the Roman provinces, where they had their acquifitions to maintain not only againft the ancient inhabitants, but alfo againft the inroads of new invaders, the northern conquerors faw the neceffity of a clofer union, and of relinquifhing fome of their private rights for public fafety. They continued therefore to acknowledge the general who had led them to victory: he was confidered as the head of the colony; he had the largeft fhare of the conquered lands; and every free man, or every fubordinate officer and foldier, upon receiving a fhare according to his military rank, tacitly bound himfelf to appear againft the enemies of the community [2].

This new divifion of property, and the obligations confequent upon it, gave rife to a fpecies of government formerly unknown, and which is commonly diftinguifhed by the name of the Feudal System. The idea of a feudal kingdom was borrowed from that of a military eftablifhment. The victorious army, cantoned out in the country which it had feized, continued arranged under its proper officers, who were ordered to hold themfelves in readinefs to affemble whenever occafion fhould require their united operations or counfels.

But that fyftem of policy, apparently fo well calculated for national defence or conqueft, and which prevailed for feveral centuries in almoft every kingdom

2. Du Cange, *Gloff.* voc. *Miles* et *Alodis*.

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of Europe, did not ſufficiently provide for the interior order and tranquility of the ſtate. The bond of political union was feeble: the ſources of diſſenſion were many; and corruption was interwoven with the very frame of the conſtitution. The partial diviſion of the conquered lands, which were chiefly ſwallowed up by the great officers, gave the few a dangerous aſcendency over the many. The king or general, by his ſuperior allotment, had it amply in his power to reward paſt ſervices or attach new followers, for the purpoſe of future wars. With this view he parcelled out his lands; binding thoſe, on whom he beſtowed them, to attend him in all his military enterprizes, under the penalty of forfeiture. The nobles, or great officers, followed his example, annexing the ſame conditions to their benefices or grants of land, and appearing at the head of their numerous vaſſals, like ſo many independent princes, whenever their pride was wounded or their property injured. They diſputed the claims of the ſovereign; they withdrew their attendance, or turned their arms againſt him [3]. A ſtrong barrier was thus formed againſt a general deſpotiſm in the ſtate; but the nobles themſelves, by means of their warlike retainers, were the tyrants of every inferior diſtrict, holding the people in ſervitude, and preventing any regular adminiſtration of juſtice, every one claiming that prerogative within his own domain. Nor was this the only privilege thoſe haughty nobles uſurped: they alſo extorted from the crown the right of coining money in their own name, and of carrying on war againſt their private enemies [4].

In conſequence of theſe encroachments on the royal prerogative, the powerful vaſſals of the crown obtain-

3. Monteſquieu, *L'Eſprit des Loix*, liv. xxx. xxxi.
4. Monteſquieu, ubi ſupra. Robertſon. Introd. *Hiſt. Charles* V. Hume, *Hiſt. Eng.* Append. ii.

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ed grants during life, and afterwards others including their heirs, of ſuch lands as they had originally held only during pleaſure. And they appropriated to themſelves titles of honour, as well as offices of power and of truſt, which became hereditary in many families. The ties which connected the principal members of the conſtitution with its head were diſſolved: almoſt all ideas of political ſubjection were loſt, and little appearance of feudal ſubordination remained. The nobility openly aſpired at independency: they ſcorned to conſider themſelves as ſubjects; and a kingdom, conſiderable in name and extent, was often a mere ſhadow of monarchy, and really conſiſted of as many ſeparate principalities as it contained baronies. A thouſand feuds and jealouſies ſubſiſted among the barons, and gave riſe to as many wars[5]. Hence every country in Europe, waſted or kept in continual alarm by theſe internal hoſtilities, was filled with caſtles and places of ſtrength, in order to protect the inhabitants from the fury of their fellow-ſubjects.

KINGDOMS ſo divided, and torn by domeſtic broils were little capable of any foreign effort. The wars of Europe, therefore, during ſeveral centuries, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſee, reſembled more the wild and deſultory incurſions of pirates, or banditti, than the regular and concerted operations of national force. Happily, however, for poſterity, the ſtate of every kingdom was nearly the ſame; otherwiſe all muſt have fallen a prey to one; the independent ſpirit of the North might have been extinguiſhed for ever; and the preſent harmonious ſyſtem of European policy, which ſo gloriouſly ſtruggled from the chaos of anarchy, would have ſunk in eternal night.

5. Id. ibid.

The particular manner in which the Barbarians, or northern invaders, conducted their judicial proceedings, when they first settled in the provinces of the Roman empire, cannot now be distinctly ascertained: but their form of government, their manners, and a variety of other circumstances, lead us to believe it was nearly the same with that which prevailed in their original countries; where the authority of the magistrate was so limited, and the independency of individuals so great, that they seldom admitted any umpire but the sword [6].

Our most ancient historical records justify this opinion: they represent the exercise of justice in all the kingdoms of Europe, and the ideas of men with respect to equity, as little different from those which prevail in a state of nature, and deform the first stages of society in every country. Resentment was almost the sole motive for prosecuting crimes; and the gratification of that passion, more than any view to the prosperity and good order of society, was the end, and also the rule in punishing them. He that suffered the wrong, was the only person who had a right to pursue the aggressor; to demand or remit the punishment:—and he might accept of a compensation for any offence how heinous soever. The prosecution of criminals in the name, and by the authority of the community, in order to deter others from violating the laws, now justly deemed the great object of legislation, was a maxim of jurisprudence then little understood in theory, and still less regarded in practice. The civil and criminal judges could, in most cases, do no more than appoint the lists, and leave the parties to decide their cause by the sword. Fierce and haughty nobles, unused to the restraints of law, considered it as infamous to give up to another

6 Ferguson, *Essay on the Hist. of Civil Society*, part ii.

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The feudal ſyſtem, however, with all its imperfections, and the diſorders to which it gave birth, was by no means ſo debaſing to humanity as the uniform preſſure of Roman deſpotiſm. Very different from that dead calm which accompanies peaceful ſlavery, and in which every faculty of the ſoul ſinks into a kind of ſomnolency, it kept the minds of men in continual ferment, and their hearts in agitation. If animoſities were keen, friendſhips alſo were warm. The commonalty were unfortunately degraded to the condition of ſlaves, but the nobility were exalted to the rank of princes. The gentry were their aſſociates: and the king, without the form of compact, was in reality but chief magiſtrate, or head of the community, and could literally do no WRONG; or none, at leaſt, with impunity.

7. This ſubject has been finely illuſtrated by Dr. Robertſon, (Introd. *Hiſt. Charles* V. and by the preſident Monteſquieu, (*L'Eſprit des Loix*, liv. xxviii.—xxxi.) who has written a philoſophical commentary on the *Laws of the Barbarians*. It has alſo been treated, with much learning and ingenuity, by Dr. Stuart in his *View of Society*, and by Mr. Gibbon in his *Hiſtory of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, chap. xxxviii.

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LETTER III.

Rise of the FRENCH MONARCHY, *and the History of* FRANCE *under the Kings of the First Race.*

LETTER III.

IN history, as in all other sciences, it is necessary to set certain limits to our inquiries, if we would proceed with certainty; and, where utility more than curiosity is our object, we must even contract these boundaries. We must not only confine ourselves to those periods where truth can be ascertained, but to those events chiefly which were followed by some civil or political consequence, which produced some alteration in the government or the manners of a people: and, even of such events, we should be more particularly attentive to those which continue to operate upon our present civil or political system.

IN these few words, my dear Philip, in order to avoid egotism, I have indirectly given you an account of the manner in which I mean to conduct that *History of Modern Europe*, which is intended for your instruction. The first epochs of modern, as well as ancient history, are involved in fable; and the transactions of the immediately succeeding periods are handed down to us in barren chronicles, which convey no idea of the character of the agents, and consequently are destitute alike of instruction and amusement; while the events of latter ages are related with a copiousness so profuse and undistinguishing, that a selection becomes absolutely necessary, for such as would not willingly spend a life-time in acquiring a knowledge of the transactions of those who have lived before them. And as I would rather have you acquainted with the character of one living, than of ten dead statesmen or heroes, I shall be as concise in my narration as is consistent with perspicuity, and as se-

PART I. lect in my matter as information will allow; yet always taking care to omit no anecdote which can throw light on the history of the human heart, nor any circumstance that marks the progress of civil society.

MODERN HISTORY is of little importance before the time of Charlemagne: and a late celebrated writer has fixed upon the coronation of that prince at Rome, in the year 800, as the proper æra of its commencement. But for the sake of order, as well as to gratify the curiosity we naturally have to become acquainted with the origin of nations, I shall give you a short sketch of the state of modern Europe previous to that æra.

THE French monarchy first claims our notice; not on account of its antiquity only, but because of its early and continued consequence. Gaul was shared by the Romans, the Visigoths, and the Burgundians, when Clovis king of the Franks, (son of Childeric,
A. D. 486. and grandson of Merovæus, head of the Salian tribe) defeated Syagrius a Roman usurper in that province, and established a new kingdom, to which he gave the name of France, or the *Land of Free Men*[1]. How ill applied in latter times!

THOUGH Clovis was only nineteen years of age when he obtained this victory, his prudence appears to have been equal to his valour. And many circumstances conspired to his farther aggrandizement. The Gauls hated the dominion of the Romans, and were strongly attached to Christianity: Clovis gained on their piety, by favouring their bishops; and his marriage with Clotilda, niece to Gondebaud, king of Burgundy, made them hope that he would speedily embrace the faith. The attachment of his country-

1. Gregor. Turon. lib. ii. cap. 27.

men

men to their ancient worſhip was the ſole objection: the pious exhortations of the queen had ſome effect; and the king having vanquiſhed the Allemanni at Tolbiac, near Cologne, after an obſtinate engagement, politically aſcribed that victory to the God of Clotilda, whom he ſaid he had invoked during the time of battle, under promiſe of becoming a Chriſtian, if crowned with ſucceſs. He was accordingly baptiſed by St. Remigius, biſhop of Rheims, and almoſt the whole French nation followed his example [2].

LETTER III.

A. D. 496.

THIS was a grand circumſtance in favour of Clovis: and he did not fail to take advantage of it. The Gauls were ſtaunch Catholics, but the Viſigoths and Burgundians were Arians. Clotilda, however, happily was a Catholic, though nurſed in the boſom of Arianiſm; and Clovis himſelf overflowed with zeal for the ſame faith, as ſoon as he found it would ſecond his ambitious views. Under colour of religion, he made war upon Alaric, king of the Viſigoths, who poſſeſſed the country between the Rhone and the Loire. The Gallic clergy favoured his pretenſions; and the battle of Vouillé, in which the king of the Viſigoths was vanquiſhed and ſlain, near Poictiers, added to the kingdom of France the province of Aquitaine [3].

A. D. 507.

2. *Geſt. Franc.* cap. xv. Greg. Turon. lib ii. cap. 31. Of the miracles ſaid to have been wrought on the converſion of Clovis, the author of this work ſays nothing, as he would not wiſh to foſter pious credulity; but the lovers of the marvellous will find ſufficient food for their paſſion in Hincmar *(Vit. St. Remig.)* It may not, however, be improper to obſerve, that Clovis, when warmed with the eloquence of the biſhop of Rheims, in deſcribing the paſſion and death of Chriſt, ſtarted up, and ſeizing his ſpear, violently exclaimed, "Had I been "there with the valiant Franks, I would have redreſſed his wrongs!" Fredig. *Epitom.* cap. xxi.

3. Greg. Tur. lib. ii. cap. 37.

PART I.

But Clovis, inſtead of enjoying his good fortune with dignity, disfigured the latter part of his reign by perfidies and cruelties toward the princes of his houſe, whom he extirpated. He died in 511, after attempting to atone for his crimes by building and endowing churches and monaſteries, and aſſembling a council at Orleans for the regulation of church-diſcipline [4].

A. D. 511.

The death of Clovis was a ſevere blow to the grandeur of the French monarchy. He left four ſons, who divided his extenſive dominions among them. Thierry, the eldeſt, had the largeſt ſhare; he was king of Auſtraſia, or that part of the Oriental France which lies between the Rhine and the Meuſe. Metz was his capital. Childebert was king of Paris, Clodomir of Orleans, and Clotaire of Soiſſons [5]. This diviſion of the empire of the Franks, into four independent kingdoms, not only weakened its force, but gave riſe to endleſs broils. The brothers became enemies whenever their intereſts jarred. The moſt frightful barbarities were the conſequence of their diſſenſions. Murders and aſſaſſinations grew common events.

The experience of theſe evils, however, did not prevent a like diviſion taking place after the death of Clotaire, the ſole ſucceſſor of his brothers and nephews. His four ſons divided the four kingdoms by lot [6]. The kingdom of Paris fell to the lot of Cari-

A. D. 562.

bert; Soiſſons to Chilperic; Auſtraſia to Sigebert; and Orleans to Gontran, in whoſe lot alſo was included Burgundy, which had been conquered by the

4. Greg. Turon. lib. iii. cap. 40—43. 5 Ibid. lib. iii. cap. 3.

6. Ibid. lib. iv. cap. 22. *Geſt. Franc.* cap. xxix.

united

united forces of Childebert and Clotaire. This new division was followed by consequences still more fatal than the former. Two queens, more deserving the name of furies than of women, sacrificed every thing to their bloody ambition; Brunechilda, princess of Spain, wife to Sigebert, king of Austrasia, and Fredegonda, first concubine and afterward wife to Chilperic, king of Soissons. Their mutual hatred, conjoined with their influence over their husbands, was productive of an infinite number of crimes, equally ruinous to the people and the royal family, and the most enormous to be met with in the history of mankind.

AFTER the murder of a multitude of princes, and many years of civil war, carried on with the most vindictive spirit, and accompanied with every form of treachery and cruelty, Clotaire II. son of Chilperic and Fredegonda, was left sole monarch of France[7]. He re-established tranquillity, and gained the hearts of his people by his justice and generosity: and he attached the nobility to him by augmenting their consequence. He committed the government of the provinces of Austrasia and Burgundy to the Mayors of the Palace, as they were called; a kind of viceroys, who, daily acquiring power, at last made their way to the throne. A. D. 613.

THE vices of Dagobert, the son of Clotaire; the taxes with which he loaded the people, to furnish his debauches, or to atone for them, according to the custom of those times, by pious profusions, weakened the royal authority, at the same time that they debased it. His two sons, Sigebert II. and Clovis II. were only the founders of new convents. They were no-

7. Fredeg. *Chron.* cap. xliii.

body

PART I. body in their kingdoms: the mayors were every thing.

On the death of Sigebert, Grimoald, mayor of Austrasia, set his own son upon the throne of that A.D. 656. kingdom. The usurper was deposed; but the seducing example remained, as a lure to future ambition. The succeeding sovereigns were as weak as their predecessors; and Pepin Heristel, duke of Austrasia, governed France twenty-eight years, under the title of mayor, with equal prudence and fortitude. The kings were no more than decorated pageants, to be shewn to the people occasionally. The appellation of *sluggards*, which was given them, aptly expresses their stupid inactivity.

A.D. 714. After the death of Pepin, who by restoring the national assemblies, which the despotism of former mayors had abolished, by turning the restless impetuosity of the French against foreign enemies, whom he always overcame, and other wise measures, had quietly enjoyed a power hitherto unknown in the monarchy: his authority passed into the hands of his widow Plectrude, whose grandson, yet an infant, was created mayor. So high was the veneration of the French for the memory of that great man!—But the government of a woman was ill suited to those turbulent times, though the insignificant kings were content to live under the guardianship of a child. Charles Martel, natural son of Pepin, was suspected of ambitious views by Plectrude, and imprisoned. He found means, however, to make his escape, and was received by the Austrasians as their deliverer. His superior talents soon exalted him to the same degree A.D. 732. of power which his father had enjoyed, and he was no less worthy of it. He saved France from the sword of the Saracens, who had already subjected Spain,

Spain, and he kept all the neighbouring nations in awe by his wiſe and vigorous adminiſtration; yet he never ſtyled himſelf any more than Duke of France, conſcious that the title of King could add nothing to his power. But his ſon Pepin, leſs modeſt or more vain, aſſumed the ſovereignty in name as well as reality; excluding for ever the deſcendants of Clovis, or the Merovingian race from the throne of France [8]. LETTER III. A.D. 751.

THE circumſtances of that revolution I ſhall ſoon have occaſion to relate. At preſent we muſt take a view of the other ſtates of Europe.

LETTER IV.

SPAIN *under the Dominion of the* VISIGOTHS, *and under the* MOORS, *till the Reign of* ABDURRAHMAN.

SPAIN, my dear Philip, next merits your attention, as the ſecond great kingdom on this ſide of the Alps. Soon after the Viſigoths founded their monarchy in that Roman province, already over-run by the Vandals and the Suevi, the clergy became poſſeſſed of more power than the prince. So early was the tyranny of the church in Spain! Almoſt all cauſes, both civil and eccleſiaſtical, were referred to the bench of biſhops: they even decided in their councils the moſt weighty affairs of the nation. Along with the nobles, among whom they held the firſt rank, they often diſpoſed of the crown, which was more elective than hereditary [1]. The kingdom was one theatre of revolutions and crimes. The number of kings aſſaſſinated fills the ſoul with horror. The LETTER IV. A.D. 467.

8. Adon. *Chron. Annal. Metenſ.*

1. Geddes's *Tracts*, vol. ii. See alſo Saavedra, *Corona Gothica.*

Barbarians,

PART I. Barbarians, after their eſtabliſhment, contracted new vices: their ferocity became more bloody. What crimes did not bigotry alone produce!

In order to make you fully ſenſible of this, as well as acquainted with all that is neceſſary to be known in the hiſtory of the Viſigoths in Spain, I need only mention the principal reigns.

A. D. 585. Leovigild, who died in 585, and who is ſo much celebrated for his victories over the Suevi, whom he entirely ſubdued, put to death his ſon Hermenegild, becauſe he had embraced the Catholic faith, he himſelf being an Arian. Recared, however, his other ſon and ſucceſſor, abjured Arianiſm. The Arians were perſecuted in their turn. The ſpirit of perſecution daily increaſed. Siſebut, a prince in other reſpects wiſe, and whoſe valour diſpoſſeſſed the Greek emperors of what territory they had continued to hold on the coaſts of the Mediterranean, obliged the Jews, on pain of death, to receive baptiſm. In the

A. D. 612. reign of this monarch the empire of the Viſigoths was at its height; comprehending not only Spain, but alſo ſome neighbouring provinces of Gaul, and part of Mauritania. Chintila, a ſubſequent king, baniſhed all the Jews; and a council, or aſſembly of divines, convoked during his reign, declared that no prince could aſcend the Spaniſh throne without ſwearing to enforce all the laws enacted againſt that unfortunate people. Under the reign of Receſuint, the election of kings was reſerved by a council to the biſhops and palatines. Theſe palatines were the principal officers of the crown.—Thus the Spaniſh nobility loſt one of their moſt eſſential rights.

A. D. 682. Wamba, who defeated the Saracens in an attempt upon Spain, was excluded the throne, becauſe he had been

been clothed in the habit of a *penitent*, while labouring under the influence of poiſon, adminiſtered by the ambitious Erviga!—This ſtroke of prieſtcraft, the firſt of the kind we meet with in hiſtory, ſhews at a diſtance what might be expected from clerical fineſſe. A council adjudged the throne to Erviga; and another council, held during his reign, prohibited the kings, under penalty of damnation, from marrying a king's widow. This canon is a ſufficient proof of the ſpirit of legiſlation which at that time prevailed in Spain. The debauchery, cruelty, and impiety of Witiza, whoſe wickedneſs knew no bounds, occaſioned a civil war in 710. Roderic, or Roderigue, dethroned this prince, and was himſelf dethroned by a people whom nothing could withſtand [2]. A. D. 710.

The Mahometan religion was already eſtabliſhed in many countries. Mahomet, its founder, who erected at Mecca a ſpiritual and temporal monarchy, had died 632; and his countrymen, the Arabs or Saracens, ſoon after over-ran great part of Aſia, and all that part of Africa, which was under the Roman dominion. Animated by the moſt violent ſpirit of fanaticiſm, their valour was altogether irreſiſtible. The Koran promiſed heaven and eternal ſenſuality to ſuch as fell in battle, and the conquerors always tendered liberty and protection to thoſe who embraced their ſuperſtition. They threatened the whole world with ſubjection. Count Julian, whoſe daughter king Roderic had diſhonoured, invited them, it is ſaid, to land in Spain. Nor is this circumſtance by any means improbable, conſidering the character of the times, more revolutions being then occaſioned by the private vices of princes than any other cauſe.

2. Iſidor. *Cron. Goth*. Ferreras, *Hiſt. Hiſp*. vol. ii. Mariana, ibid. Greg. Turon. lib. vi.

THE

PART I.

A.D. 712.

The Saracens, already masters of Mauritania, now Barbary (a name which the lawless ferocity of their descendants has given to that country, as it gave to them the name of Maures or Moors), made a descent upon Spain; and by the decisive battle of Xeres, in Andalusia, put an end to the empire of the Visigoths[3]. Muza, viceroy of Africa, under the calif Walid, came over to finish the conquest. According to the prudent policy of the Mahometans (the only enthusiasts who ever united the spirit of toleration with a zeal for making proselytes), he offered the inhabitants their religion and laws, on condition that they should pay to him the same subsidy they had paid their former sovereigns: and such as embraced the religion of the conquerors were entitled to all their privileges. Most cities submitted without resistance: those that held out he reduced by force, burning and pillaging them. Oppas, archbishop of Seville, and uncle to the children of Witiza, was not ashamed on this occasion to join the Saracens, and sacrifice his country and his religion to his hatred against Roderic. But Pelagius, a prince of the royal blood, remained firm in his faith and his duty; and when he could no longer keep the field against the Infidels, he retired to the mountains of Asturias, followed by a number of faithful adherents. There he founded a Christian kingdom, which he defended by his valour, and transmitted to his posterity[4].

A.D. 717.

Meanwhile the Saracens or Moors, little willing to confine their ambition within the limits of the Pyrenees, made an unsuccessful attack upon Eudes, duke of Aquitaine. But that check was soon forgot. Abdurrahman, the new emir or governor of Spain, made a second irruption with supe-

3. Rod. Tolet. *Hist. Arab.* Ferreras, ubi sup.
4. Mariana, vol. i. Ferreras, vol. ii.

rior

LETTER IV.

rior forces, and penetrated as far as Sens. Repelled there by bishop Ebbo, he fell upon Aquitaine, vanquished the duke, and advanced towards the heart of France. Charles Martel put a stop to his career, between Poictiers and Tours, by a memorable battle, in which Abdurrahman himself was slain: and, if we believe the historians of those times, the Saracens lost in this action above three hundred thousand men. But such exaggerations are fit only for romance. A. D. 732.

SPAIN was at first very miserable under the dominion of the Moors. The emirs being dependent on the viceroy of Africa, who allowed them to continue but a short time in their government, were more busy in fleecing the Spanish nation, than in the administration of justice or the preservation of good order. Civil wars arose among the Moslems themselves; and the califs or vicars of the prophet, the successors of Mahomet, who had made Damascus the seat of their court, were unable to quell those disorders. The competitions for the califat, as may be expected, even favoured the projects of the rebels. At length that august dignity, which included both the highest regal and sacerdotal eminence, passed from the family of the Ommiades to that of the Abassides. This revolution, which was bloody, gave birth to another, truly advantageous to Spain, but injurious to the Christian faith. A. D. 750.

ABDURRAHMAN called also Almanzor, a prince of the blood royal, who escaped in the massacre of the Ommiades, founded in Spain an independent kingdom, consisting of all those provinces which had been subject to the califs[5]. He fixed his residence at A. D. 755.

5. Ferreras, ubi sup.

Cordova,

PART I.

Cordova, which he made the ſeat of the arts, of magnificence, and of pleaſure. Without perſecuting the Chriſtians, he was able, by his artful policy, almoſt to extinguiſh Chriſtianity in his dominions:—by depriving the biſhops of their dioceſes; by reſerving all honours and offices for the followers of his prophet; and by promoting intermarriages between the Chriſtians and Mahometans. No prince in Europe equalled Abdurrahman in wiſdom, nor any people the Arabs in whatever tends to the aggrandizement of the human ſoul. Lately enemies to the ſciences, they now cultivated them with ſucceſs, and enjoyed a conſiderable ſhare both of learning and politeneſs, while the reſt of mankind were ſunk in ignorance and barbariſm [6].

I SHALL afterward have occaſion to be more particular on this ſubject. In the mean time, we muſt caſt an eye on Italy, Rome, Conſtantinople, and France, from the time of Charles Martel to that of Charlemagne.

6. Ockley, *Hiſt. Sarac.* vol. i. ii.

LET-

LETTER V.

ITALY *under the Dominion of the* OSTROGOTHS, *and under the* LOMBARDS, *till the Reign of* LUITPRAND.

ITALY experienced a variety of fortunes after it lost its ancient masters, before it fell into the hands of Charlemagne. It was first wholly conquered by the Heruli, a people from the extremity of the Euxine or Black Sea, who held it only a short time, being expelled by the Ostrogoths. Theodoric, the first Gothic king of Italy, and several of his successors, were princes of great prudence and humanity. They allowed the Italians, or Romans as they still affected to be called, to retain their possessions, their laws, their religion, their own government and their own magistrates, reserving only to the Goths the principal military employments. They acknowledged the emperors of Constantinople their superiors in rank, but not in jurisdiction. Ravenna was the seat of their court, and in real magnificence vied with ancient Rome, as their equitable administration did with the reigns of Trajan and Antoninus[1]. They were at last subdued by Belisarius and Narses, the generals of Justinian, who, having recovered Africa from the Vandals, had the pleasure of uniting Italy once more to the Roman Eastern or Greek empire;

LETTER V. A. D. 476. A. D. 493. A. D. 554.

1. Procop. *Bell. Goth.* Cassiodor. lib. viii. The lenity of the Ostrogoths on first settling in Italy, may be accounted for from two causes:— partly from that polish which their manners may be supposed to have received during their intercourse with the Romans, whom they had long served as auxiliaries against the Huns and other barbarous nations; partly from the character of Theodoric the Gothic conqueror, who having been educated at Constantinople, and initiated in all the learning of the times, retained ever after a just admiration of the Roman laws and arts.

PART I. the Weſtern empire, which took its riſe, as a ſeparate ſtate, on the death of Theodoſius in 395, being totally annihilated by Odoacer, king of the Heruli.

Soon after the expulſion of the Oſtrogoths, great part of Italy was ſeized by Alboinus, king of the Lombards or Langobards, a Gothic nation. He and his ſucceſſors made Pavia the place of their reſidence. The government of Italy was now entirely changed. Alboinus eſtabliſhed the feudal policy in thoſe countries which he had conquered, ſettling the principal officers of his army, under the name of duke, in the chief cities of every province[2]. A ſimilar kind of government prevailed in that part of Italy which remained ſubject to the emperors of Conſtantinople; the exarch or ſupreme governor, who reſided at Ravenna, appointing the dukes or chief magiſtrates, of the other cities, and removing them at pleaſure. Even Rome itſelf was governed by a duke, the very name of the ſenate and conſuls being aboliſhed.

A. D. 568.

Alboinus was one of the greateſt princes of his time, and no leſs ſkilled in the ſcience of reigning than in the art of war; but he was ſlain by the treachery of his wife Roſamund, before he had leiſure to perfect the government of his kingdom. Clephis, his ſucceſſor, was an able, but a barbarous prince. His cruelties gave the Lombards ſuch an averſion againſt regal power, that they reſolved, after his death, to change their form of government: accordingly, for the ſpace of twelve years, they choſe no other king, but lived ſubject to their dukes. Theſe dukes had hitherto acknowledged the royal authority; but, when the kingly power was aboliſhed, each duke became ſovereign of his own city and its diſtrict.

A. D. 571.

2 Paul. Diac. *de Geſt. Langob.* lib. ii.

LETTER V.

The Lombards, during that interregnum, extended their conquests in Italy. But, being threatened by foreign enemies, they saw the necessity of a closer union; of restoring their ancient form of government, and committing the management of the war to a single person.

For this purpose the heads of the nation assembled, and with one voice called Autharis, the son of Clephis, to the throne. Autharis perfected that form of government, which had been established by Alboinus. Sensible that the dukes, who had ruled their several districts like independent princes, for so many years, would not willingly part with their authority, he allowed them to continue in their governments, but reserved to himself the supreme jurisdiction. He made them contribute a part of their revenues toward the support of his royal dignity, and take an oath, that they would assist him to the utmost of their power in time of war[3]. After settling the government of his kingdom, he enacted several salutary laws for its tranquillity and good order. He was the first of the Lombard kings who embraced Christianity, and many of his subjects followed his example: but being of the Arian persuasion, like most of the northern conquerors, whose simple minds could not comprehend the mysteries of the Trinity and incarnation, many disputes were by that means cocasioned between the Arian and Catholic bishops; for the Romans, or native Italians, were then as staunch Catholics as at this day. A. D. 586.

Liberty of conscience, however, was allowed under all the Lombard kings; and Rotharis, who surpassed all his predecessors in wisdom and valour, was so moderate in his principles, and so indulgent to his

3. Ibid. lib. iii.

PART I. people, that during his reign most cities of Italy had two bishops, one Catholic, and the other Arian. He was the first prince who gave written laws to the
A. D. 643. Lombards. For that purpose, he summoned at Pavia, a general diet of the nobles; and such regulations as they approved, he ordered to be digested into a code, and observed over all his dominions. His military talents were not inferior to his civil. He very much extended the limits of his kingdom, and gained so many advantages over the imperial forces, that no future hostilities passed between the exarchs and the kings of the Lombards, till the reign of Luitprand.

A. D. 663. But the emperor Constans, before that time, landed in Italy with a considerable army, which he commanded in person, determined to expel the barbarians, and reunite the kingdom of Lombardy to his dominions. He at first gained some inconsiderable advantages; but his army was afterward totally routed by Romuald, duke of Benevento, whose father, Grimoald, had been elected king of the Lombards.—Grimoald was a prudent prince, and in all respects worthy of the dignity to which he had been raised. As soon as he was free from the alarms of war, he applied himself wholly to the arts of peace. He re-
A. D. 668. formed the laws of Rotharis, which were now from choice appealed to by the Italians as well as the Lombards; revoking some, and enacting others more applicable to the circumstances of the times. Influenced by the arguments of John, bishop of Bergamo, he renounced the tenets of Arius. His successors followed his example, all professing the Catholic faith; so that Arianism was in a short time forsaken by the whole nation of the Lombards [4].

4. Paul. Diac. lib. v.

LUIT-

LETTER V. A.D. 712.

LUITPRAND gave ſtrong proofs of his wiſdom and valour from the moment he aſcended the throne; but his courage ſometimes bordered on raſhneſs. Informed that two of his attendants had conſpired againſt his life, and only waited an opportunity to put their deſign in execution, he walked out with them alone, and upbraided them with their guilt. Struck with ſuch heroic firmneſs, they threw themſelves at his feet, as wretches unworthy of mercy. The king, however, thought otherwiſe: he not only pardoned them, but received them into favour, promoting them afterwards to principal employments. Having thus won his domeſtic enemies by kindneſs, and ſtrengthened his intereſts abroad by marrying the daughter of the duke of the Boioarii, Luitprand applied himſelf, in imitation of his two illuſtrious predeceſſors, Rotharis and Grimoald, to the formation of new laws. In one of theſe his ſagacity appears highly conſpicuous. He blames "the ridiculous cuſtom of trials by duel, in "which we would force God to manifeſt his juſtice "according to the caprice of men;" adding, that he has only tolerated the abuſe, "becauſe the Lombards "are ſo much attached to it[5]."

BUT Luitprand's great qualities were in ſome meaſure ſhaded by his boundleſs ambition. Not ſatisfied with the extenſive dominions left him by his predeceſſors, he formed the deſign of making himſelf ſole maſter of Italy: and a favourable opportunity ſoon offered for the execution of that enterpriſe.

LEO ISAURICUS, then emperor of Conſtantinople, where theological diſputes had long mingled with affairs of ſtate, and where caſuiſts were more com-

5. *Leg. Langob.* in Codex Lindenbrog.

PART I. A. D. 726. mon upon the throne than politicians, piously prohibited the worship of images; ordering all the statues to be broken in pieces, and the paintings in the churches to be pulled down and burnt. The populace, whose devotion extended no farther than such objects, and the monks and secular priests, interested in supporting the mummery, were so highly provoked at this innovation, that they publicly revolted in many places. The emperor, however, took care to have his edict put in force in the East; and he strictly enjoined the exarch of Ravenna, and his other officers in the West, to see it as punctually obeyed in their governments. In obedience to that command, the exarch began to pull down the images in the churches and public places at Ravenna; a conduct which incensed the superstitious multitude to such a degree, A. D. 727. that they openly declared they would rather renounce their allegiance to the emperor than the worship of images. They considered him as an abominable heretic, whom it was lawful to resist by force, and took arms for that purpose [6].

LUITPRAND, judging this the proper season to put his ambitious project in execution, suddenly assembled his forces, and unexpectedly appeared before Ravenna; not doubting but the reduction of that important place would be speedily followed by the conquest of all the imperial dominions in Italy. The exarch, though little prepared for such an assault, defended the city with much courage; but finding he could not long hold out against so great a force, and despairing of relief, he privately withdrew. Luitprand, informed of this, made a vigorous attack; carried the city by storm, and gave it up to be plun-

6. Meimb. *Hist. Iconoclast.*

dered

dered by his ſoldiers, who found in it an immenſe booty, as it had been ſucceſſively the ſeat of the Weſtern Emperors, of the Gothic kings, and of the exarchs. Alarmed at the fate of Ravenna, moſt other cities in the exarchate ſurrendered without reſiſtance[7]. Luitprand ſeemed, therefore, in a fair way to become maſter of all Italy. But that conqueſt neither he nor any of his ſucceſſors was ever able to complete: and the attempt proved fatal to the kingdom of the Lombards. LETTER V. A. D. 728.

LETTER VI.

Riſe of the Pope's temporal Power, with ſome Account of the Affairs of ITALY, *the Empire of* CONSTANTINOPLE, *and the Kingdom of* FRANCE, *from the Time of* CHARLES MARTEL *to that of* CHARLEMAGNE.

THOUGH Rome was now governed by a duke, who depended on the exarch of Ravenna, the pope, or biſhop, had the chief authority in that city. He was yet leſs conſpicuous by his power than the reſpect which religion inſpired for his ſee, and the confidence which was placed in his character. St. Gregory, who died 604, had negociated with princes upon ſeveral matters of ſtate, and his ſucceſſors divided their attention between clerical and political objects. To free themſelves from the dominion of the Greek emperors, without falling a prey to the kings of Italy, was the great object of theſe ambitious prelates. In order to accompliſh this important purpoſe, they em- LETTER VI.

7. Paul Diac. lib. vi.

PART I. ployed ſucceſsfully both religion and intrigue; and at laſt eſtabliſhed a ſpiritual and temporal monarchy, which of all human inſtitutions, perhaps, moſt merits the attention of man, whether we conſider its nature, its progreſs, or its prodigious conſequences.

Gregory II. had offended the emperor Leo, by oppoſing his edict againſt the worſhip of images: but he was more afraid of the growing power of the Lombards than of the emperor's threats; he therefore reſolved to put a ſtop, if poſſible, to the conqueſts of Luitprand. The only prince in Italy, to whom he could have recourſe, was Urſus, duke of Venice, the Venetians making already no contemptible figure. Not leſs alarmed than Gregory at the progreſs of ſo powerful a neighbour, Urſus and the Venetians promiſed to aſſiſt the exarch (who had fled to them for protection) with the whole ſtrength of the republic. They accordingly fitted out a conſiderable A. D. 728. fleet, while the exarch conducted an army by land, and retook Ravenna, before Luitprand could march to its relief.

As the recovery of Ravenna had been chiefly owing to the interpoſition of Gregory, he hoped to be able to prevail on the emperor to revoke his edict againſt the wopſhip of images in the Weſt. Leo, however, ſenſible that the pope had been influenced merely by his own intereſt in the meaſures he had taken relative to that event, was only more provoked at his obſtinacy, and reſolved that the edict ſhould be obeyed even in Rome itſelf. For this purpoſe he recalled Scholaſticus, exarch of Ravenna, and ſent in his ſtead Paul, a patrician, ordering him to get the pope aſſaſſinated, or to ſeize him, and ſend him in chains to Conſtantinople. But Gregory, far from being

being intimidated by the emperor's threats, ſolemnly excommunicated the exarch for attempting to put the imperial edict in execution, exhorting all the Italian cities to continue ſtedfaſt in the catholic faith. Luitprand, though highly incenſed againſt Gregory, aſſiſted him in his diſtreſs; and the populace roſe at Ravenna, and murdered the exarch, making prodigious ſlaughter of the Iconoclaſts, or image-breakers, as the abettors of the edict were called. The duke of Naples ſhared the ſame fate with the exarch; and as Leo ſtill inſiſted that his favourite edict ſhould be enforced in Rome, the people of that city, at the inſtigation of Gregory, withdrew their allegiance from the Greek emperor [1]. Hence the riſe of the pope's temporal power.

LETTER VI. A. D. 729. A. D. 730.

INFORMED of this revolt, and not doubting who was the author of it, Leo ordered a powerful army to be raiſed, with a deſign both to chaſtiſe the rebels and take vengeance on the pope. Gregory, alarmed at theſe warlike preparations, looked round for ſome power on which he might depend for protection. The Lombards were poſſeſſed of ſufficient force, but they were too near neighbours to be truſted; and the Venetians, though zealous catholics, were not yet in a condition to withſtand the ſtrength of the empire. Spain was at that time over-run by the Saracens: the French ſeemed, therefore, the only people to whom it was adviſable to apply for aid, as they were at once able to oppoſe the emperor, and enemies to his edict. France was then governed by Charles Martel, the greateſt commander of his age. Gregory ſent a ſolemn embaſſy to Charles, entreating him to take the Romans and the church under his protection, and

1. Anaſt. in *Vit. Greg.* II. Meimb. *Hiſt. Iconoclaſt.*

PART I. A.D. 731. defend them againſt the attempts of Leo. The ambaſſadors were received with extraordinary marks of honour: a treaty was concluded [2]; and the French, glad to get any concern in the affairs of Italy, became the protectors of the church.

In the mean time conſiderable alterations were made by death. Gregory II. did not live to ſee his negociation with France finiſhed. He was ſucceeded in the ſee of Rome by Gregory III. and, ſome years after, Leo Iſauricus was ſucceeded on the imperial throne by his ſon Conſtantine Copronymus, who not only renewed his father's edict againſt the worſhip of images, but prohibited the invocation of ſaints. This new edict confirmed the Romans in the reſolution they had taken of ſeparating themſelves entirely from the empire; more eſpecially as being now under the protection of France, they had nothing to fear from Conſtantinople. They accordingly drove out of their city ſuch of the imperial officers as had hitherto been ſuffered to continue there; and aboliſhed, by that means the very ſhadow of ſubjection to the emperor. Soon after Leo, died Charles Martel, and alſo Gregory III. who was ſucceeded in the ſee of Rome by Zachary, an active and enterpriſing prelate. Immediately after his election, he waited upon Luitprand, and obtained the reſtoration of four cities in the territory of Rome, which had been yielded to that prince as a ranſom for the capital, when ready to fall into his hands [3].

A.D. 741.

Luitprand henceforth laid aſide all ambitious thoughts, dying in peace with the church and with men. Rachis, his ſucceſſor, confirmed the peace with Zachary; but being afterwards ſeized with a

A.D. 743.

2. Sigon. *Reg. Ital.*

3. Paul. Diac. lib. vi.

thirſt

thirst of conquest, he invaded the Roman dukedom, and laid siege to Perugia. Zachary, before he solicited the assistance of France, the only power on which he could depend, resolved to try once more his personal influence. He accordingly went in person to the camp of Rachis: and being respectfully received by that prince, he represented so forcibly to him the punishment reserved for those who unjustly invade the property of others, that Rachis not only raised the siege, but was so much subdued by the eloquence of the pontiff, that he renounced his crown, and retired to the monastery of Monte Cassino; prostrating himself first at Zachary's feet, and taking the habit of St. Benedict [4]. LETTER VI. A. D. 750.

While things were in this situation in Italy, Pepin, son of Charles Martel, governed France in the character of mayor, under Childeric III. and acquainted, no doubt, with the sentiments of his Holiness, proposed to Zachary a case of conscience, which had not hitherto been submitted to the bishop of Rome. He desired to know, Whether a prince incapable of governing, or a minister invested with royal authority, and who supported it with dignity, ought to have the title of king. Zachary decided in favour of the minister; and the French clergy supported the pretensions of Pepin, because he had restored the lands of which Charles Martel had robbed them. The nobles respected him, because he was powerful and brave; and the people despised the sluggard kings, whom they scarcely knew by name. The judgment of the pope therefore silenced every scruple. Childeric was deposed; or more properly, degraded, for he could never be said to reign. He was shut up in a monastery. Pepin was raised to the throne; and St. Boniface, bishop of Mentz, the famous A. D. 751.

4. Id. ibid.

PART I. A.D. 751. apoſtle of the Germans, anointed him ſolemnly at Soiſſons [5].

THIS ceremony of anointing, borrowed from the Jews, and hitherto unknown to the French nation, or at moſt only uſed on the converſion of Clovis, ſeemed to beſtow on the king a kind of divine character: and ſo far it was uſeful, by inſpiring reſpect. But as ignorance abuſes all things, the biſhops ſoon imagined they could confer royalty by anointing princes; an opinion which was followed by many fatal conſequences. The Eaſtern emperors had long been crowned by the patriarchs of Conſtantinople: the popes, in like manner, crowned the emperors of the Weſt. Crowning and anointing were ſuppoſed neceſſary to ſovereignty. A pious ceremony gave the church a power of diſpoſing of kingdoms.

THESE obſervations, my dear Philip, you will find frequent occaſion to apply. I offer them here, in order to awaken your attention. We muſt ſee things in their cauſes, to reaſon diſtinctly on their effects.

SUCCESS ſoon attended the crafty policy of the popes: the new king of France repaid their favour with intereſt. Aſtulphus, the ſucceſſor of Rachis, leſs piouſly inclined than his brother, thought only of conqueſt. In imitation of Luitprand, he reſolved to make himſelf maſter of all Italy: and as the emperor Conſtantine Copronymus was now engaged in a war with the Saracens and Bulgarians, and in a ſtill more hot and dangerous war againſt images, Aſtulphus judged this a proper ſeaſon to invade the imperial dominions. He accordingly entered the exar-
A. D. 753. chate at the head of a conſiderable army; took Ravenna, ſubdued the whole province, and alſo Penta-

5. Sigon. *Reg. Ital.*

polis,

polis, which he added to the kingdom of the Lombards, reducing the exarchate and its ancient metropolis to the condition of a dukedom [6]. LETTER VI. A.D. 753.

AMBITION is only increaſed by acceſſion of dominion. Aſtulphus no ſooner ſaw himſelf maſter of Ravenna and its territory, than he began to lay claim to the Roman dukedom, and to Rome itſelf. He urged the right of conqueſt. This, he alledged, entitled him to the ſame power over that city and its dukedom which the emperors, and alſo the exarchs, their viceroys, had formerly enjoyed, as he was now in poſſeſſion of the whole exarchate. And, in order to enforce his demand, he marched an army towards Rome, reducing many cities in its neighbourhood, and threatening to put the inhabitants to the ſword, if they refuſed to acknowledge him as their ſovereign. Stephen III. then pope, no leſs alarmed at the approach of ſo powerful a monarch, than at the ſeverity of his meſſage, endeavoured to appeaſe him by a ſolemn embaſſy. But preſents, prayers, and entreaties, were employed in vain; Aſtulphus wanted to govern Rome.

MADE ſenſible at laſt, that force muſt be repelled by force, Stephen reſolved, in imitation of his predeceſſors, to crave the protection of France. He accordingly applied to Pepin, who, mindful of his obligations to Zachary, and now firmly ſeated on the throne of Clovis, readily promiſed the pope his aſſiſtance, and ſent two ambaſſadors to conduct him to Paris. Aſtulphus permitted him to paſs: and a treaty was concluded between both, at the expence of the emperors of Conſtantinople and the kings of Italy. Stephen anointed Pepin anew, with the holy unction, and alſo his two ſons, Charles and Carloman, declaring each

6. Sigon. *Reg. Ital.*

of

PART I. A. D. 758. of them *Romanorum Patricius*, or Protector of the Roman people; and the French monarch, in return for these honours, promised to make a donation of the exarchate and Pentapolis to the Romish church [7].

PEPIN however endeavoured, before he set out for Italy, to persuade Astulphus, to be content with the dominions of his predecessors; to restore what he had conquered, and thus prevent the effusion of Christian A. D. 754. blood. But finding the king of the Lombards deaf to his entreaties, he crossed the Alps, and advanced to Pavia. Astulphus now, convinced of his danger, sued for peace, and obtained it, on condition that he should deliver up to the pope, not to the emperor, all the places he had taken. He consented; but, instead of fulfilling his engagements, no sooner did he think the storm blown over by the departure of Pepin, than he broke again into the Roman dukedom, took several cities, and laid siege to Rome.

IN this extremity, Stephen had again recourse to his protector, the king of France, writing to him those famous letters which are still extant, and in which he artfully introduces St. Peter, to whom the donation of the exarchate had been made, conjuring Pepin, his two sons, and the states of France to come A. D. 755. to his relief; promising them all good things, both in this world and the next, in case of compliance, and denouncing damnation as the reward of refusal [8]. Pepin, much affected by this eloquence, wild as it may seem, crossed the Alps a second time, and Astulphus again took refuge in Pavia.

MEANWHILE the emperor Constantine Copronymus, informed of the treaty between the king of

7. Leo Ostiensis, lib. i.

8. Anastas. in *Vit. Steph.* III.

France

France and the pope, by which the latter was to be put in poſſeſſion of the exarchate and Pentapolis, remonſtrated by his ambaſſadors againſt that agreement, offering to pay the expences of the war. But Pepin replied, That the exarchate belonged to the Lombards, who had acquired it by the right of arms, as the Romans had originally done: that the right of the Lombards was now in him, ſo that he could diſpoſe of that territory as he thought proper. He had beſtowed it, he ſaid on St. Peter, that the catholic faith might be preſerved in its purity, free from the damnable hereſies of the Greeks; and all the money in the world, he added, ſhould never make him revoke that gift, which he was determined to maintain to the church with the laſt drop of his blood. In conſequence of this reſolution, the ambaſſadors were diſmiſſed, without being ſuffered to reply. Pepin preſſed the ſiege of Pavia; and Aſtulphus, finding himſelf unable to hold out, agreed to fulfil the former treaty, giving hoſtages as a pledge of his fidelity, and putting the pope immediately in poſſeſſion of Commachio, a place of great importance at that time [9]. LETTER VI. A.D. 755.

Before Pepin returned to France he renewed his donation to St. Peter, yielding to Stephen and his ſucceſſors the exarchate; Emilia, now Romagna; and Pentapolis, now Marca d' Ancona; with all the cities therein, to be held by them for ever, the kings of France, as patricians, retaining only an ideal ſuperiority, which was ſoon forgot [10]. Thus was the ſceptre added to the keys, the ſovereignty to the A.D. 756.

9. Leo Oſtienſis, ubi ſup.

10. Many diſputes have ariſen concerning the nature of Pepin's donation, and ſome writers have even denied that ſuch a donation was ever made; but on comparing authorities, and obſerving the ſcope of hiſtory, the matter ſeems to have been nearly as repreſented in the text. The impertinences of Voltaire on this ſubject, under the form of reaſoning, are too contemptible to deſerve notice.

prieſt-

PART I. priesthood, and the popes enriched with the spoils of the Lombard kings and the Roman emperors.

ASTULPHUS, soon after ratifying his treaty with France, was killed by accident, when he was preparing to recover his conquests. Pepin continued to extend his sway and his renown till the year 768; when, after having imposed tribute on the Saxons and Sclavonians, having made the duke of Bavaria take an oath of fidelity, and reunited Acquitaine to his crown,—equally respected at home and abroad, he died in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and the seventeenth of his reign. He never affected absolute power, but referred all matters of importance to the national assemblies, of which he was the oracle. By the consent of the nobles, he divided his kingdom between his two sons, Charles and Carloman.

A. D. 768.

THE reign of Charles, known by the name of Charlemagne or Charles the Great, introduces a new æra, and will furnish the subject of a future Letter. In the mean time, we must trace the settlement of other Barbarians, and the rise of another great kingdom.

LET-

LETTER VII.

BRITAIN, *from the Time it was relinquished by the* ROMANS, *to the End of the* SAXON HEPTARCHY.

THE affairs of our own island, my dear Philip, now claim your attention. It was ultimately evacuated by the Romans about the year 448, after they had been masters of the southern, and most fertile part of it, for almost four centuries. LETTER VII.

NEVER, perhaps, was the debasing influence of despotism so fully displayed as in its effect on our ancient countrymen. No people were ever more brave, none more jealous of liberty, than the Britons. With ordinary weapons, and little knowledge of military discipline, they struggled long with the Roman power, and were only subdued at last by reason of their want of union. But after three centuries of tranquil submission, when the exigencies of the empire obliged the Romans to recall their legions from this island, and resign to the inhabitants their native rights, the degenerate Britons were incapable of prizing the gift. Conscious of their inability to protect themselves against their northern neighbours, and wanting resolution to attempt it, they would gladly have lived in security and slavery [1]. They had therefore recourse, again and again, to their conquerors: and the Romans, beside occasionally sending over a legion to the aid of the Britons, assisted them in rebuilding the wall of Antoninus, which extended between the

A. D. 409.

1. Gildas, Bede, lib. i. Mr. Gibbon, whose historical scepticism is as well known as his theological incredulity, has attempted to controvert the degeneracy of the Britons under the Roman government. But facts will speak for themselves: these he has not been able to destroy. The Britons, who fled before their naked and barbarous neighbours, were surely inferior to those that intrepidly contended with the Roman legions, under Julius Cæsar and other great commanders.

 friths

PART I. friths of Forth and Clyde. This wall was esteemed by the Romans a necessary barrier first against the Caledonians, and afterwards against the Scots and Picts.

Much time has been spent in enquiring after the origin of the Scots and Picts, and many disputes have arisen on the subject [2]. The most probable opinion, however, seems to be, That they were two tribes of native Britons, who at different times had fled from the dominion of the Romans, chusing liberty and barren mountains rather than fertile plains and slavery. But whoever they were, they are allowed to have been brave and warlike adventurers, who often invaded the Roman territories, and were greatly an over-match for the now dastardly and dispirited Britons.

These two nations or tribes, no sooner heard of the final departure of the Romans, than they considered the whole British island as their own. One party crossed the frith of Forth, in boats made of leather, while another attacked with fury the Roman wall, which the Britons had repaired for their defence, but which they abandoned on the first assault, flying like timorous deer, and leaving their
A. D. 448. country a prey to the enemy. The Scots and Picts made dreadful havock of the fugitives; and, meeting with no opposition, they laid all the southern part of the island waste with fire and sword. Famine followed with all its horrid train. The mi-
A. D. 449. serable Britons, in this frightful extremity, had once more recourse to Rome. They writ to Ætius, then consul the third time, that memorable letter

2. See Macpherson's Introd. *Hist. Brit. Origin*, &c. *of the Caledonians*, Whitaker's *Hist. of Manchester*, *Genuine Hist. Brit.* and Hume's *Hist. of England*, vol. i. note A.

 entitled

LETTER VII. A. D. 449.

entitled *The Groans of the Britons*, and which paints their unhappy condition as ſtrongly as it is poſſible for words: "We know not," ſay they, "even which "way to flee. Chaſed by the Barbarians to the ſea, "and forced back by the ſea upon the Barbarians, "we have only left us the choice of two deaths; "either to periſh by the ſword, or be ſwallowed up "by the waves [3]." What anſwer they received is uncertain; but it is well known they received no aſſiſtance, Rome being then threatened by Attila, the moſt terrible enemy that ever invaded the empire.

The Britons, however, amid all their calamities, had one conſolation: they had embraced Chriſtianity; a religion which above all others teaches the endurance of misfortunes, which encourages its votaries to triumph in adverſity, and inſpires the ſoul with joy in the hour of affliction. Many of them fled over to Gaul, and ſettled in the province of Armorica, to which they gave the name of Britany: part of them ſubmitted to the Scots and Picts; and part, collecting courage from deſpair, ſallied from their woods and caves upon the ſecure and roving invaders, cut many of them to pieces, and obliged the reſt to retire into their own country. But the enemy threatening to return next ſeaſon with ſuperior forces, the diſtreſſed Britons, by the advice of Vortigern, prince of Dunmonium, who then poſſeſſed the principal authority among them, called over to their aſſiſtance, by a ſolemn deputation, the Saxons and Angles, or Anglo-Saxons [4].

The Saxons, like all the ancient German tribes, were a free, brave, independent people. They had arrived at that degree of civilization in which the

3. Bede, Gildas, ubi ſup. Gul. Malmſ. lib. i.
4. Bede, lib. i. Gul. Malmſ. ubi ſup.

PART I. mind has acquired ſufficient force for enterprize, and ſeems to derive energy from the unimpaired vigour of the body. A nation, taken collectively, is never perhaps capable of ſuch great achievements as in this ſtate of half-civilization. The Saxons had ſpread themſelves over Germany and the Low-Countries from the Cimbrian Cherſoneſus, now Jutland, taking poſſeſſion of the whole territory between the Rhine and the Elbe; and, when the Britons ſent to implore their aſſiſtance, they were maſters not only of the preſent Weſtphalia, Saxony, Eaſt and Weſt Friſeland, but alſo of Holland and Zealand. They readily complied with the requeſt of Vortigern; and having fitted out three large tranſports, about fifteen hundred of them put to ſea under the command of Hengiſt and Horſa, two brother chiefs, ſaid to be deſcended from Woden, their tutelary God. The

A. D. 450. Saxon chiefs landed in the iſle of Thanet, which was aſſigned them as a poſſeſſion, and a league was entered into between them and the Britiſh prince[5]. Soon after their arrival, they marched againſt the Scots and Picts, who had made a new irruption, and advanced as far as Stamford. Theſe northern ravagers, unable to withſtand the ſteady valour of the Saxons, were routed with great ſlaughter; and the Britons, felicitating themſelves on an expedient by which they had freed their country from ſo cruel an enemy, hoped thenceforth to enjoy ſecurity under the protection of their warlike auxiliaries.

5. Gildas, Bede, ubi ſup. *Chron. Sax.* p. 13. Mr. Gibbon, on the authority of Nennius, gives a different account of this matter (*Hiſt.* chap. xxviii). He repreſents Hengiſt and Horſa as two fugitive adventurers; who, in a piratical cruiſe, were taken into the pay of the Britiſh prince. But I can ſee no reaſon for adopting ſuch an opinion; for, independent of circumſtances, which are greatly in favour of the common manner of telling the ſtory, the authority of the venerable Bede is ſurely ſuperior to that of the fabulous Nennius.

BUT

LETTER VII.

But mankind, in the poſſeſſion of preſent good, are apt to overlook the proſpect of future evil. The Britons did not foreſee that their deliverers were to be their conquerors; though it muſt have been evident to any diſintereſted obſerver, that the day of ſubjection was nigh. The reflections of Hengiſt and Horſa, after their victory over the Scots and Picts, were very different from thoſe of the Britons: They conſidered with what eaſe they might ſubdue a people, who had been unable to reſiſt ſuch feeble invaders; and ſent to their countrymen intelligence of the fertility and opulence of Britain, inviting them to come and ſhare in the ſpoils of a nation, without union and without valour, ſunk in indolence and ſloth [6].

The invitation was readily accepted. Seventeen veſſels ſoon arrived with five thouſand men; who, joined to thoſe already in the iſland, formed a conſiderable army [7]. Though now juſtly alarmed at the number of their allies, the Britons ſought ſecurity and relief only in paſſive ſubmiſſion: and even that unmanly expedient ſoon failed them. The Saxons pulled off the maſk: they complained that their ſubſidies were ill paid, and demanded larger ſupplies of corn and other proviſions. Theſe being refuſed, as exorbitant, they formed an alliance with the Scots and Picts; and proceeded to open hoſtilities againſt the people they had come over to protect.

The Britons were at laſt under the neceſſity of taking arms; and having depoſed Vortigern, who

6. *Chron. Sax.* upi ſup. *Ann. Beverl.* p. 49.

7. Had Hengiſt and Horſa been a couple of exiles, they would not ſoon have found ſo many followers.

PART I. was become odious by his vices, and the unfortunate iſſue of his raſh councils, they put themſelves under the command of his ſon Vortimer. Many battles were fought between the Saxons and Britons with various ſucceſs, though commonly on the ſide of the former; and, in one of theſe battles, the Saxon general Horſa was ſlain. The ſole command now devolved upon Hengiſt; who, continually reinforced with freſh adventurers from Germany, carried deſolation to the moſt remote poſſeſſions of the Britons. Anxious to ſpread the terror of his arms, he ſpared neither age, ſex, nor condition [8]. The deſcription is too horrible to read; and, for the honour of humanity, I am willing to ſuppoſe it to be partly untrue.

Of the unhappy Britons, who eſcaped the general ſlaughter, ſome took refuge among inacceſſible rocks and mountains; many periſhed by hunger; and many, forſaking their aſylum, preſerved their lives at the expence of their liberty. Others, croſſing the ſea, ſought ſhelter among their countrymen in Armorica. They who remained at home ſuffered every ſpecies of miſery: they were not only robbed of all temporal but ſpiritual benefits [9]. In this extremity, a Britiſh and a Chriſtian hero appeared. Arthur, prince of the Silures, revived the expiring valour of his countrymen. He defeated the Saxons in ſeveral engagements; and particularly in the famous battle of Ba-
A. D. 520. don-hill, which procured the Britons tranquillity for upward of forty years. But the ſucceſs of Hengiſt and his followers having excited the ambition of other German tribes, who arrived at different times, and under different leaders, yet all ſpeaking one lan-

8. Bede, lib. i. Gildas, ſec. xxiv. Uſher. p. 226.
9. Bede, Gildas, Uſher, ubi ſup.

guage,

LETTER VII. A. D. 584.

guage, being governed by the same regulations, and passing under the common appellation of Saxons or Angles, they were naturally led to unite against the ancient inhabitants of the island. The Britons therefore ultimately found themselves unequal to the contest, and retired to the mountains of Cornwall and Wales, where they formed independent principalities, protected by their remote and inaccessible situation [10].

The Saxons and Angles, or Anglo-Saxons (for they are mentioned under both these denominations), were now absolute masters of the whole fertile and cultivated part of South Britain, which had changed not only its inhabitants, but its language, customs, and political institutions [11]. History affords an example of few conquests more bloody, and few revolutions so violent as that effected by the Saxons. In the course of their wars with the Britons, which continued an hundred and thirty-five years, they had established many separate kingdoms, the seventh and last of which was that of Northumberland. The names of the other kingdoms were Kent, Sussex, Essex, Wessex, Mercia, and East Anglia. These seven

10. Gul. Malmſ. lib. i. H. Huntingdon, lib. ii. *Chron. Sax.* p. 20.

11. The Saxons and Angles were originally distinct tribes; but, at the time they landed in Britain, they were so much incorporated, as to pass sometimes under the one name, sometimes under the other. (Alford. ad Ann. 449.) Hence the compound name of Anglo-Saxons, given them by most writers. The Jutes had also a considerable share in the conquest of South Britain, and settled themselves in Kent and the Isle of Wight. Essex, Middlesex, Surrey, Sussex, and all the southern counties, as far as Cornwall, were peopled by Saxons. The Saxons also took possession of the northern counties. Norfolk, Suffolk, and all the midland counties were inhabited by Angles. Bede, lib. i. ii. Ethelwerd, lib. i. H. Hunting. lib. ii. Hume, vol. i. chap. i.

PART I. kingdoms formed what is commonly called the Saxon Heptarchy [12].

WHILE the Saxons had to ſtruggle with the Britons for dominion, their ſeveral princes leagued againſt the common enemy, and an union of councils and intereſts was preſerved. But after the wretched natives were ſhut up in their barren mountains, and the conquerors had nothing to fear from them, the bond of alliance was in a great meaſure diſſolved among the princes of the Heptarchy; and although one prince ſeems ſtill to have aſſumed, or to have been allowed, ſome aſcendant over the reſt, his authority was ſo very limited, that each ſtate acted as if entirely independent. Jealouſies and diſſenſions aroſe among the Saxon chiefs, and theſe were followed by perpetual wars; which, in Milton's opinion, are no more worthy of a particular narration, than the combats of kites or crows. And, independent of ſo great an authority, which however it would be preſumption to ſlight, it may be ſafely affirmed, That the barren records tranſmitted to us, and the continued barbarities of the times, render it impoſſible for the moſt eloquent and diſcerning writer to make this portion of our hiſtory either inſtructive or entertaining. It will therefore be ſufficient for me to obſerve, That, after a variety of inferior revolutions, the ſeven kingdoms of the Saxon Heptarchy were united A. D. 827. under Egbert, king of Weſſex, in the year 827 [13]. His dominions were nearly of the ſame extent with what is now properly called ENGLAND; a name which was given to the empire of the Saxons in

12. The extent of the different kingdoms is of too little importance now to deſerve a particular deſcription.

13. Weſſex, or the kingdoms of the Weſt Saxons, extended over the counties of Hants, Dorſet, Wilts, Berks, and the Iſle of Wight.

Britain,

Britain, immediately after the termination of the Heptarchy.

THE Anglo-Saxons before this period, had been converted to Chriſtianity by the preaching of Auguſtine, a Roman monk, and the zeal of Bertha, daughter of Caribert, king of Paris, and wife to Ethelbert, king of Kent; but as they received that doctrine through the polluted channels of the church of Rome, though it opened an intercourſe with the more poliſhed ſtates of Europe, it had not hitherto been very effectual either in purifying their minds, or in ſoftening their manners. The groſſeſt ignorance and ſuperſtition prevailed among them. Reverences to ſaints and reliques ſeemed to have ſupplanted the worſhip of the ſupreme Being; donations to the church atoned for every violation of the laws of ſociety; and monaſtic obſervances were more eſteemed than moral virtues. Even the military virtues ſo habitual to the Saxons, began to fall into neglect. The nobility themſelves came to prefer the indolence and ſecurity of the cloiſter to the toils and tumults of war; and the crown, impoveriſhed by continual benefactions to the church, had no rewards for the encouragement of valour.

THIS corrupt ſpecies of Chriſtianity was attended with another train of inconveniencies, proceeding from a ſuperſtitious attachment to the ſee of Rome. The Britons had conducted all eccleſiaſtical matters by their own ſynods and councils, acknowledging no ſubordination to the Roman pontiff; but the Saxons having received their religion through the medium of Italian monks, were taught to conſider Rome as the capital of their faith. Pilgrimages to that city were accordingly repreſented as the moſt meritorious acts of devotion; and not only noblemen and ladies of rank

PART I.

rank undertook this tedious journey, but kings themſelves, reſigning their crowns, implored a ſafe paſſport to heaven at the foot of St. Peter's chair, and exchanged the purple for the ſackcloth[14].

BUT England, even in thoſe times of Britiſh darkneſs, gave birth to ſome men equal, at leaſt, to any of the age in which they lived. Offa, king of Mercia, was thought worthy the friendſhip of Charlemagne, the greateſt prince that Europe had produced for many centuries; and Alcuin, an Engliſh clergyman, had the honour of inſtructing that illuſtrious monarch in the ſciences, at the time when he was ſurrounded by all the literati of Chriſtendom.

HAVING mentioned Charlemagne, I think it neceſſary to obſerve, That I ſhall finiſh the hiſtory of that great conqueror and legiſlator before we proceed to the reign of Egbert, the firſt Engliſh monarch; who, as you will afterward have occaſion more fully to know, was educated in the court, and in the armies of the new emperor of the Weſt. Meanwhile, my dear Philip, I muſt ſay a few words of the government, laws, and manners of the Saxons, after their ſettlement in Britain.

14. Bede, lib. i. ii. Spell. *Conc.* H. Hunting. lib. iii.

LET-

LETTER VIII.

GOVERNMENT *and* LAWS *of the* ANGLO-SAXONS.

LETTER VIII.

HAD the Saxons, on their ſettlement in Britain, eſtabliſhed the ſame form of government with the other nothern nations that ſeized the provinces of the Roman empire, this Letter would have been in a great meaſure unneceſſary; but as they rather exterminated than ſubdued the natives, and were under few apprehenſions from foreign enemies, they had no occaſion to burden themſelves with feudal ſervices. They therefore retained entire their civil and military inſtitutions: they tranſplanted into this iſland thoſe principles of liberty and independency which they had ſo highly cheriſhed at home, which had been tranſmitted to them from their anceſtors, and which ſtill continue to flouriſh among their deſcendants. Their original conſtitution was a kind of military democracy, in which the protection of the ſtate was the voluntary care of its members, as every free man had a ſhare in the government; and conqueſt was the intereſt of all, as all partook in the acquiſitions. Their king, or chief, was only the firſt citizen of the community: his authority was extremely limited; and depended, as did his ſtation, principally on his perſonal qualities. The ſucceſſion was neither elective not hereditary. A ſon who inherited his father's virtues and talents was ſure to ſucceed to his ſway; but if he happened to be weak, wicked, or under age, the next in blood was generally raiſed to the throne, or the perſon of moſt eminence in the ſtate [1].

1. Tacit. de *Moribus Germ.* cap. xi.

WE

We owe to the masterly pen of Tacitus this account of the primitive government of the Saxons, who were a tribe of the ancient Cimbri. Unfortunately the Saxon Annals are too imperfect to enable us to delineate exactly the prerogatives of the crown, and the privileges of the people, after their settlement in Britain. The government might be somewhat different in the different kingdoms of the Heptarchy, and might also undergo several changes before the Norman conquest; but of those changes we are in a great measure ignorant. We only know, That at all times, and in all the kingdoms, there was a national council, a Wittenagemot, or Assembly of the Wise Men, whose consent was necessary to the enacting of laws, and to give sanction to the measures of public administration. But who the constituent members of that assembly were, has not hitherto been determined with certainty. The most probable conjecture however seems to be, That it consisted of the nobility, the dignified clergy, and all freeholders possessing a certain portion of land.

The Saxons were divided into three orders of men; the noble, the free, and the servile. These distinctions they brought into Britain with them. The nobles were called thanes, and were of two kinds, the greater and lesser thanes. The latter seem to have had some dependence on the former, as the former had on the king, but of what nature is uncertain. The lower kind of freemen among the Saxons were denominated ceorles, and were chiefly employed in husbandry. Whence a husbandman and ceorle came to be synonymous terms. They farmed the lands of the nobility, or higher orders, and appear to have been removable at pleasure. But the slaves, or villains, were by much the most numerous class

claſs in the community; and being the property of their maſters, were conſequently incapable of holding any property themſelves. They were of two kinds: houſhold ſlaves, after the manner of the ancients; and ruſtic ſlaves, who were ſold and transferred, like cattle, with the ſoil. The long wars between the Saxons and Britons, and afterward between the different kingdoms of the Heptarchy, ſeem to have been the cauſe of the diſproportionate number of theſe unhappy men; for priſoners taken in battle were reduced to ſlavery by the laws of war, and entirely at the diſpoſal of their maſters[2].

THE higher nobility and dignified clergy among the Anglo-Saxons poſſeſſed a criminal juriſdiction within their own territories, and could puniſh without appeal ſuch as they judged worthy of death. This was a dangerous privilege, and liable to the greateſt abuſe. But although the Anglo-Saxon government ſeems at laſt to have become in ſome meaſure ariſtocratical, there were ſtill conſiderable remains of the ancient democracy. All the freeholders aſſembled twice a-year in the county-courts, or Shiremotes, to receive appeals from the inferior courts; a practice well calculated for the preſervation of general liberty, and for reſtraining the exorbitant power of the nobles. In theſe courts they decided all cauſes eccleſiaſtical as well as civil, the biſhop and alderman, or earl, preſiding over them. The caſe was determined by a majority of voices, without much pleading, formality, or delay; the biſhop and earl having no farther authority than to keep order among the freeholders, and offer their advice when neceſ-

2. L. Edg. ſec. xiv. ap. Spelman, *Conc.* vol. i. Brady, *Gen. Pref.* p. 7, 8, 9. Nithard. *Hiſt.* lib. iv.

ſary.

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ſary [3]. Though it ſhould therefore be granted, that the Wittenagemot was compoſed entirely of the greater thanes and dignified clergy, yet in a government where few taxes were impoſed by the legiſlature, and few ſtatutes enacted; where the nation was leſs governed by laws than by cuſtoms, which allowed much latitude of interpretation, the county-courts, where all the freeholders were admitted, and which regulated all the daily occurrences of life, formed a wide baſis for freedom.

THE criminal laws of the Anglo-Saxons, as of moſt barbarous nations, were uncommonly mild; a compenſation in money being ſufficient for murder of any ſpecies, and for the life of perſons of any rank, not excepting the king and the archbiſhop, whoſe head, by the laws of Kent, was eſtimated higher than the king's. The price of all kinds of wounds was alſo ſettled: and he who was caught in adultery with his neighbour's wife, was ordered by the laws of Ethelbert to pay him a fine, and buy him another wife; a proof, though ſomewhat equivocal, of the eſtimation in which women were then held. The puniſhments for robbery were various, but none of them capital. If any perſon could track his ſtolen cattle into another's ground, the owner of the ground was obliged to ſhew their tracts out of it, or pay the value of the cattle [4].

BUT if the puniſhments for crimes among the Anglo-Saxons were ſingular, their proofs were no leſs ſo. When any controverſy about a fact was too intricate for the ignorant judges to unravel, they had recourſe

3. Hickes, *Diſſert.* Epiſt. ii—viii.

4. *Anglo-Saxon Laws*, ap. Wilkins.

to

to what they called the Judgment of God; or, in other words, to chance. Their modes of consulting that blind divinity were various, but the most common was the ordeal. This method of trial was practised either by boiling water or red-hot iron. The water or iron was consecrated by many prayers, masses, fastings, and exorcisms; after which the person accused either took up, with his naked hand, a stone sunk in the water to a certain depth, or carried the iron to a certain distance. The hand was immediately wrapped up, and the covering sealed for three days; and if on examining it there appeared no marks of burning or scalding, the person accused was pronounced innocent: if otherwise, he was declared guilty[5]. The same kinds of proof, or others equally extravagant, obtained among all the nations on the continent; and money, in like manner, was every where the atonement for guilt, both in a civil and ecclesiastical sense.

5. Spelman, in Verb. *Ordeal.*

LET-

LETTER IX.

The Reign of CHARLEMAGNE, *or* CHARLES *the* GREAT, *King of* FRANCE *and Emperor of the* WEST.

CHARLES and Carloman, the two sons of Pepin, and his successors in the French monarchy, were men of very different dispositions. Charles was open and generous, Carloman dark and suspicious: it was
A.D. 771. therefore happy for mankind, that Carloman died soon after his father, as perpetual wars must have been the consequence of the opposite tempers and interfering interests of the brothers. Now alone at the head of a powerful kingdom, Charles's great and ambitious genius soon gave birth to projects which will render his name immortal. A prosperous reign of forty-six years, abounding with military enterprizes, political institutions, and literary foundations, offers to our view, in the midst of barbarism, a spectacle worthy of more polished ages.

BUT before we proceed to the history of this illustrious reign, I must say a few words of the state of Germany at that time.

GERMANY was anciently possessed by a number of free and independent nations, who bravely defended their liberties against the Romans, and were never totally subjected by them. On the decline of the Roman empire, many of those nations left their native country, as we have seen, and founded empires of their own; so that Germany, at the accession of Charlemagne to the crown of France, was principally occupied by the Saxons. Of their government I have already spoken. They were still Pagans. What was then

then confidered as their territory comprehended a vaft tract of country. It was bounded on the weft by the German ocean, by Bohemia on the eaft, on the north by the Baltic fea, and on the fouth by Germanic France, extending along the lower Rhine, and from Iffel beyond Mentz. This extenfive empire was governed by an infinite number of independent princes, and inhabited by a variety of tribes, under different names; who, by reafon of their want of union, had become tributary to the French monarchs. But whenever the throne of France was vacated by death, or when the kings of France were engaged either in foreign or domeftic wars, the Saxon princes threw off their allegiance, and entered the French territories[1]. Charles had occafion to quell one of thofe revolts immediately after the death of his brother: and the work was but imperfectly executed, when his arms were wanted in another quarter.

CHARLES and Carloman had married two daughters of Defiderius, king of the Lombards. Carloman left two fons by his wife Berta; but Charles had divorced his confort, under pretence that fhe was incapable of bearing children, and married Ildegarda, a princefs of Suabia. Berta, the widow of Carloman, not thinking herfelf and her children fafe in France after the death of her hufband, fled to her father in Italy, and put herfelf and her two fons under his protection. Defiderius received them with joy. Highly incenfed againft Charles for divorcing his other daughter, he hoped by means of thefe refugees to raife fuch difturbances in France as might both gratify his revenge, and prevent the French monarch from intermeddling in the affairs of Italy. In this hope he was encouraged by his intimacy with pope Adrian I.

1. Eginhard, in *Vit. Car. Mag.*

PART I. A. D. 772. to whom he proposed the crowning and anointing of Carloman's two sons. But Adrian, though sufficiently disposed to oblige him, refused to comply with the request; sensible that by so doing he must incur the displeasure of Charles, the natural ally of the church, and the only prince capable of protecting him against his ambitious enemies. Enraged at a refusal, Desiderius ravaged the papal territories; or, as they were called, the *Patrimony of St. Peter*, and threatened to lay siege to Rome itself. In order to avert the pressing danger, Adrian resolved to have recourse to France, in imitation of his predecessors. He accordingly sent ambassadors privately to Charlemagne, not only imploring his assistance, but inviting him to the conquest of Italy, his friendship for Desiderius being now converted into the most rancorous hate. The French monarch, who waited only an opportunity to revenge himself on that prince for keeping his nephews, and still more for wanting to crown them, received the pope's invitation with incredible satisfaction. He immediately left Germany, concluding a kind of treaty with the Saxons, and collected such an army as evidently shewed, that his object was nothing less than the extinction of the kingdom of the Lombards [2].

DESIDERIUS, informed of these preparations, put himself at the head of a great army, and sent several bodies of troops to guard the passes of the Alps. But Charlemagne, apprised of this precaution, sent a detachment under experienced guides to cross the mountains by a different route. The French completed their march: and falling unexpectedly upon the Lombards, who guarded the passes, struck them with such A. D. 773. terror, that they fled in the utmost confusion. Charles now entered Italy unmolested, and marched in quest

2. Sigon. *Reg. Ital.* Anast. in *Vit. Hadriani.*

of

of Defiderius. Finding himfelf unable to keep the field, the king of the Lombards retired to Pavia, his capital; fending his fon Adalgifus, and his daughter Berta, the widow of Carloman, with her two fons, to Verona, a place not inferior in ftrength to Pavia. A. D. 773.

As foon as Charlemagne underftood that Defiderius had taken fhelter in Pavia, he affembled his whole army, and laid fiege to that city, refolving not to withdraw his forces till it had fubmitted; but, as the Lombards made a gallant defence, he changed the fiege into a blockade, and marched with part of his troops to invest Verona. Adalgifus defended the place, for a time, with great bravery; but finding himfelf, at laft, reduced to extremities, and defpairing of relief, he fecretly withdrew, and fled to Conftantinople, where he was cordially received by the emperor. Verona now furrendered to Charles; who having got Berta, his brother's widow, and her two fons into his power, fent them immediately, under a ftrong guard, into France. What afterwards became of them, hiftory has not told us. It is much to be feared, however, that their fate was little to the honour of the conqueror. Humanity was not the characteriftic of thofe times.

THE fiege of Pavia was renewed, and pufhed with frefh vigour. But the feftival of Eafter approaching, which Charles had refolved to fpend at Rome, he left the conduct of the fiege once more to his uncle Bernard. The pope received his deliverer in the moft pompous manner, the magiftrates and judges walking before him with their banners, and the clergy repeating, "Bleffed is he that cometh in the name of the "Lord!" After Charles had fatisfied his curiofity, and confirmed the donation which his father Pepin had made to St. Peter, he returned to the camp be- A. D. 774.

 fore

PART I. A. D. 774.

fore Pavia. The Lombards ſtill continued to defend that city with obſtinate valour, ſo that the ſiege was little, if at all advanced; but a plague breaking out among the beſieged, the unfortunate Deſiderius was obliged at laſt to ſurrender his capital, and deliver up himſelf, his wife, and his children, to Charles, who ſent them all into France, where they either died a violent death, or languiſhed out their days in obſcurity, being never more heard of [3].

Thus ended the kingdom of the Lombards in Italy, after it had ſubſiſted two hundred and ſix years. They are repreſented by the monkiſh hiſtorians as a cruel and barbarous people, becauſe they oppoſed the ambitious views of the popes; but the many wholeſome laws which they left behind them, and which devouring time has ſtill ſpared, are convincing proofs of their juſtice, humanity, and wiſdom.

A short account of the ſtate of Italy at the time it was entered by Charlemagne will here be proper, and alſo of the new form of government introduced there by the conqueror.

Italy was then ſhared by the Venetians, the Lombards, the popes, and the emperors of the Eaſt. The Venetians were become very conſiderable by their trade to the Levant, and bore no ſmall ſway in the affairs of Italy, though it does not appear that they had yet any town on the *terra firma*, or continent. The pope, by the generoſity of Pepin and his ſon Charles, was now maſter of the exarchate and Pentapolis. The dukedom of Naples, and ſome cities in the two Calabrias, were ſtill held by the emperors of the Eaſt. All the other provinces of Italy belonged to the Lom-

3. Leo Oſtienſ. Monach. Engoliſm.

bards;

LETTER IX.

A. D. 774.

bards; namely the dukedoms of Friuli, Spoleto, and Benevento, together with the provinces of Liguria, Venetia, Tuſcany, and the Alpes Cottiæ, which were properly called the kingdom of the Lombards. Theſe Charles claimed by right of conqueſt, and cauſed himſelf, in imitation of them, to be crowned king of Italy, with an iron crown[4], which is ſtill preſerved in the little town of Monza.

The ceremony of coronation being over, the conquerer thought it neceſſary to ſettle the government of his new kingdom, before he left Italy; and, after conſulting with the pope, who declared him patrician of Rome, and protector of the apoſtolic ſee, he agreed that the people ſhould be permitted to live under their former laws, and that all things ſhould remain as eſtabliſhed by his predeceſſors. Accordingly he allowed the dukes of Friuli, Spoleto, and Benevento, the ſame authority which they had enjoyed under the Lombard kings. He alſo permitted the other dukes to hold their dukedoms. contenting himſelf with an oath of allegiance, which he obliged them, and likewiſe the three great dukes, to take annually. It was conceived in theſe words: "I promiſe, without fraud "or deceit, to be faithful to my ſovereign Charles, "and his ſons, as long as I live; and I ſwear, by "theſe Holy Goſpels, that I will be faithful to him, "as a vaſſal to his lord and ſovereign; neither will I "divulge any thing, which, in virtue of my allegi-"ance, he ſhall commit to me." He never transferred a dukedom from one family to another, unleſs when the duke broke his oath, or died without male iſſue. This tranſlation from one to another was called *inveſtiture*; and hence it came, that fiefs were not grant-

4. Eginhard in *Vit. Car. Mag.*

 ed

PART I. A. D. 774. ed but by inveftiture, as was afterwards the cafe with refpect to other vaffals and feudatories [5].

CHARLES committed the boundaries of his new kingdom, and the territory of cities, to the care of counts, who were vefted with great authority. Thefe boundaries were called Marchæ or Marches, and thofe who had the care of them were ftyled Counts of the Marches, or Marquiffes; whence the title Marquis had its rife. He alfo fent occafionally *miffi*, or commiffaries, who were vefted with higher powers, and examined into the conduct of the counts, whofe province it was to adminifter juftice over all the dominions of Charlemagne—That Italy might retain at leaft fome fhadow of liberty, he convened, as often as he returned thither, a general affembly of all the bifhops, abbots, and barons of the kingdom, in order to fettle affairs of national importance. The Lombards had but one order in the ftate, compofed of the barons and judges; but the French, in the time of Charlemagne, had two, the clergy and nobility: hence was added by Charles in Italy, after the manner of France, the order of ecclefiaftics to that of the barons or nobles [6].

A. D. 775. THE affairs of Italy being thus fettled, Charles returned to France, and marched immediately againft the Saxons, who had again revolted during his abfence. But his wars with that barbarous, though brave and independent people, which lafted upwards of thirty years, and formed the principal bufinefs of his reign, could afford little pleafure to a humanized mind. I fhall therefore only obferve, That, after a number of battles gallantly fought, and many cruelties committed on both fides, the Saxons were totally fubjected, and

5. Sigonius, ubi fup. 6. Ibid.

Germany

Germany became part of the empire of Charlemagne. A desire of converting the Saxons to Christianity seems to have been one of the principal motives for prosecuting this conquest; and as they were no less tenacious of their religion than their liberty, persecution marched in the train of war, and stained with blood the fetters of slavery.

WITIKIND, so deservedly celebrated by his nation, was the most eminent Saxon general during these hostilities. He frequently roused the drooping valour of his countrymen, and revived in their hearts the love of liberty and independency. Nor were they wanting to him in attachment, for which they severely paid. After an unsuccessful revolt, when they went to make submission to Charlemagne, he ordered four thousand five hundred of their principal men to be massacred, because they refused to deliver up their general[7]. An equal instance of severity is not, perhaps, to be met with in the history of mankind; especially if we consider, that the Saxons were not Charles's natural subjects, but an independent people struggling for freedom. Witikind at last submitted, and embraced Christianity, continuing ever after faithful to his engagements. But he could never inspire his associates with the same docile sentiments: they were continually revolting; and submitting, that they might have it in their power to revolt again. On the final reduction of their country, the more resolute spirits retired into Scandinavia, carrying along with them their vindictive hatred against the dominion and the religion of France.

A WORD here of religion. Charlemagne very justly considered the mild doctrines of Christianity as the best means of taming a savage people; but he was mistaken

7. Eginhard. in *Annal.*

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in ſuppoſing that force will ever make Chriſtians. His Capitulars for the Saxons are almoſt as barbarous as their manners. He obliges them, under pain of death, to receive baptiſm; he condemns to the ſevereſt puniſhments the breakers of Lent: in a word, he every where ſubſtitutes force for perſuaſion. Inſtead, therefore, of blaming the obſtinacy of theſe barbarians, we ought to be filled with horror at the cruel bigotry of the conqueror.

ALMOST every year of Charles's reign was ſignalized by ſome military expedition, though very different from thoſe of our times. War was then carried on without any ſettled plan of operations. The troops were neither regularly diſciplined nor paid. Every nobleman led forth his vaſſals, who were only obliged to ſerve for a certain time; ſo that there was a kind of neceſſity of concluding the war with the campaign. The army was diſſolved on the approach of winter, and aſſembled next ſeaſon, if neceſſary. Hence we are enabled to account for a circumſtance, which would otherwiſe appear inexplicable, in the reign of this great prince.—Beſides the Lombards and Saxons, whom he conquered, Charles vanquiſhed in ſeveral engagements the Abares or Huns, plundered their capital, and penetrated as far as Raab on the Danube. He likewiſe made an expedition into Spain, and carried his arms to the banks of the Ebro [8].

ABDERAHMAN, the Mooriſh king, whom I have already mentioned, ſtill reigned with luſtre at Cordova. A ſuperb moſque, now the cathedral of that city, ſix hundred feet in length, and two hundred and fifty in breadth, ſupported by three hundred and ſixty-five columns of alabaſter, jaſper, and black marble, continues to manifeſt the grandeur of this monarch.

8. Id. ibid.

No

No other people but the Arabs could then either have conceived or executed ſuch a work. The little Chriſtian king of the Aſturias had prudently ſued for peace from Abderahman; but the Mooriſh governors of Saragoſſa and Arragon having revolted, implored the aſſiſtance of Charlemagne, offering to acknowledge him as their ſovereign. Willing to extend his empire on that ſide, Charles croſſed the Pyrenees with all expedition; took Pampeluna and Saragoſſa, and re-eſtabliſhed the Mooriſh governors under his protection. In repaſſing the mountains, his rear-guard was defeated by the duke of Gaſcony, at Roncevaux [9]. Here fell the famous Roland, ſo much celebrated in Romance, and repreſented as nephew to Charlemagne; though hiſtory only tells us, that he commanded on the frontiers of Bretagne.

LETTER IX.

A. D. 778.

BUT Charles, though engaged in ſo many wars, was far from neglecting the arts of peace, the happineſs of his ſubjects, or the cultivation of his own mind. Government, manners, religion, and letters, were his conſtant ſtudy. He frequently convened the national aſſemblies, for regulating affairs both of church and ſtate. In theſe aſſemblies he propoſed ſuch laws as he conſidered to be of public benefit, and allowed the ſame liberty to others; but of this liberty, indeed, it would have been difficult to deprive the French nobles, who had been accuſtomed, from the foundation of the monarchy, to ſhare the legiſlation with their ſovereign. His attention extended even to the moſt diſtant corner of his empire, and to all ranks of men. Senſible how much mankind in general reverence old cuſtoms, and thoſe conſtitutions under which they have lived from their youth, he permitted the inhabitants of all the countries that he conquered to retain their own laws, making only

9. Eginhard, ubi ſup.

ſuch

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ſuch alterations as he judged abſolutely neceſſary for the good of the community. He was particularly tender of the common people, and every where ſtudied their eaſe and advantage. This benevolence of mind, which can never be ſufficiently admired, was both more neceſſary and more meritorious in thoſe times, as the commonalty were then in a ſtate of almoſt univerſal oppreſſion, and ſcarcely thought entitled to the common ſympathies of humanity. The ſame love of mankind led him to repair and form public roads; to build bridges, where neceſſary; to make rivers navigable, for the purpoſes of commerce; and to project that grand canal, which would have opened a communication between the German Ocean and the Black Sea, by uniting the Danube and the Rhine [10]. This illuſtrious project failed in the execution, for want of thoſe machines which art has ſince conſtructed. But the greatneſs of the conception, and the honour of having attempted it, were beyond the power of contingencies: and poſterity has done juſtice to the memory of Charles, by conſidering him on account of that and his other public ſpirited plans, as one of thoſe few conquerors who did not merely deſolate the earth; as a hero truly worthy of the name, who ſought to unite his own glory with the welfare of his ſpecies.

THIS great prince was no leſs amiable in private life than illuſtrious in his public character. He was an affectionate father, a fond huſband, and a generous friend. His houſe was a model of economy, and his perſon of ſimplicity and true grandeur. "For ſhame!" ſaid he to ſome of his nobles, who were finer dreſſed than the occaſion required; "learn to dreſs like men, and let the world judge of your rank by your

10. Eginhard. *Vit. Car. Mag.*

merit,

merit, not your habit. Leave ſilks and finery to women; or reſerve them for thoſe days of pomp and ceremony, when robes are worn for ſhew, not uſe." On ſuch occaſions he himſelf appeared in imperial magnificence, and freely indulged in every luxury; but in general his dreſs was plain, and his table frugal. His only exceſs was in the pleaſure of the ſexes, at once the moſt natural and the moſt excuſeable; and this, it muſt be owned, he ſometimes carried to ſuch a height as to endanger his very athletic conſtitution, he being almoſt ſeven feet high, and proportionably ſtrong. He had his ſet hours for ſtudy, which he ſeldom omitted, either in the camp or the court; and, notwithſtanding his continual wars, and unremitted attention to the affairs of a great empire, he found leiſure to collect the old French poems and hiſtorical ballads, with a view to illuſtrate the hiſtory of the monarchy. The loſs of this collection is much to be lamented, and could never have happened, if every one had been as well acquainted with its importance as Charles. But he was the phœnix of his age; and, though not altogether free from its prejudices, his liberal and comprehenſive mind, which examined every thing, and yet found time for all things, would have done honour to the moſt enlightened period. He was fond of the company of learned men, and aſſembled them about him from all parts of Europe, forming in his palace a kind of academy, of which he himſelf condeſcended to become a member. He alſo eſtabliſhed ſchools, in the cathedrals and principal abbies, for teaching writing, arithmetic, grammar, and church-muſic [11]; certainly no very elevated ſciences, yet conſiderable at a time when many dignified eccleſiaſtics could not ſubſcribe the canons of thoſe councils in which they ſat as

11. Id. ibid.

members,

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members [12], and when it was deemed a sufficient qualification for a prieſt to be able to read the Goſpels, and underſtand the Lord's Prayer [13].

ALCUIN, our learned countryman, was the companion, and particular favourite of Charlemagne; inſtructed him in the ſciences, and was at the head of his Royal Academy. A circumſtance ſo much to the honour of this iſland ſhould be omitted by no Britiſh hiſtorian. Three rich abbies were the reward of the learning and talents of Alcuin. This benevolence has been thought to border on profuſion; but in that age of darkneſs, when even an enthuſiaſtic zeal for letters was a virtue, no encouragement could be too great for the illuminators of the human mind.

HAD Charles's religious enthuſiaſm been attended with no worſe conſequences than his literary ardour, his piety would have been as deſervedly admired as his taſte. But a blind zeal for the propagation of Chriſtianity, which extinguiſhed his natural feelings, made him guilty, as we have already ſeen, of ſeverities that ſhock humanity; and a ſupeſtitious attachment to the ſee of Rome, which mingled itſelf with his policy, led him to engage in theological diſputes and quibbles unworthy of his character. The honours which his father Pepin and he owed to the popes can only render him in any degree excuſeable. But although the theological ſide of Charles's character is by no means the brighteſt, it merits your attention; as it ſerves to ſhew the prejudices of the age, the littleneſſes of a great man, and the great effects that frequently proceed from little cauſes.

12. *Nov. Traité Diplom.*
13. Reg. Brumienſ. ap. Bruck. *Hiſt. Philoſ.*

As Charlemagne was equally a friend to religion and letters, and as any learning which yet remained among mankind, in our quarter of the globe, was monopolized by the clergy, it is not ſurpriſing that they obtained many ſingular marks of his favour. Even the payment of tithes, then conſidered as a grievous oppreſſion, but which he ordered as a compenſation for the lands with-held from the church; and the conſequence which he gave to church-men, by admitting them into the national aſſemblies, and aſſociating them along with the counts in the adminiſtration of juſtice, appear leſs extravagant than his ſitting himſelf in councils merely eccleſiaſtical, aſſembled about the moſt frivolous points of a vain theology. But, like ſome princes of later times, Charles ſeems to have been ambitious to be conſidered not only as the protector, but the head of the church; and his power and munificence made this uſurpation be overlooked, notwithſtanding the height at which the papal dignity had then arrived. We accordingly find him ſeated on a throne in the council of Frankfort, with one of the pope's legates on each hand, and three hundred biſhops waiting his nod. A. D. 794.

THE purpoſe of that council was to examine the doctrine of two Spaniſh biſhops; who, in order to refute the accuſation of polytheiſm, brought againſt the Chriſtians by the Jews and Mahometans, maintained that Jeſus Chriſt is the ſon of God only by adoption. The king opened the aſſembly himſelf, and propoſed the condemnation of this hereſy. The council decided conformably to his will: and in a letter to the churches of Spain, in conſequence of that deciſion, Charles expreſſes himſelf in theſe remarkable words. "You entreat me to judge of myſelf: "I have done ſo: I have aſſiſted as an auditor, and

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A. D. 794.

"an arbiter, in an assembly of bishops: we have examined, and, by the grace of God, we have settled, what must be believed!" Neither Constantine nor any other of the Greek emperors, so jealous of their theological prerogative, ever used a more positive language.

CHARLEMAGNE went still farther in the question of images. Leo IV. the son of Constantine Copronymus, as zealous an image-breaker as his father, had banished his wife Irene, because she hid images beneath her pillow. This devout and ambitious princess coming afterwards to the government, during the minority of her son Constantine Porphyrogenetus, with whom she was associated in the empire, re-established that worship which she loved, from policy no less than piety. The second council of Nice accordingly decreed, That we ought to render to images an *honorary* worship, but not a real *adoration*, which is due to God alone. Unfortunately, however, the translation of the acts of this council, which pope Adrian sent into France, was so defective, that the sense of the article relating to images was entirely perverted, running thus: "I receive and honour images according to that adoration which I pay to the Trinity." Charles was so much incensed at this impiety, that he composed, by the assistance of the clergy, and published in his own name, what are called the *Carolin Books*, in which the Council of Nice is treated with the utmost contempt and abuse. He sent these Books to Adrian I. desiring him to excommunicate the empress and her son. The pope prudently excused himself on the score of images, making Charles sensible of the mistake upon which he had proceeded; but he insinuated at the same time, that he would declare Irene and Constantine heretics, unless they restored certain lands, which had belong-

ed to the church; artfully hinting at certain projects, which he had formed for the *exaltation* of the Roman church and the French monarchy [14]. The exaltation of the monarchy was at hand, though Adrian did not live to be the instrument of it.

Leo III. who succeeded Adrian in the papacy, sent immediately to Charlemagne the standard of Rome, begging him to send some person to receive the oath of fidelity from the Romans [15]; a most flattering instance of submission, as well as a proof that the sovereignty of Rome, at that time, belonged to the kings of France. Three years after, Pascal and Campule, two nephews of the late pope, not only offered themselves as accusers of Leo, but attacked him in the public streets; wounded him in several places, and dragged him half-dead into the church of St. Mark. He made his escape by the assistance of some friends; and the duke of Spoleto, general of the French forces, sent him under an escort to Charlemagne. Charles received him with all possible marks of respect, sent him back with a numerous retinue of guards and attendants, and went soon after to Italy in person to do him justice [16].

A. D. 795.

A. D. 799.

On the arrival of the French monarch at Rome, he spent six days in private conferences with the pope; after which he convoked the bishops and nobles, to examine the accusation brought against the pontiff. "The apostolic see," exclaimed the bishops, "cannot be judged by man!" Leo, however, spoke to the accusation: he said the king came to *know the cause*; and, no proof appearing against him, he purged himself by oath.

A. D. 800.

14. *Elemens d'Hist. Gen.* par M. l'Abbé Millot, par. II. tom. i.
15. Eginhard. in *Vit. Car. Mag.*
16. Anast. in *Vit. Leon.*

THE

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The trial of a pope was doubtless an uncommon scene, but one soon followed yet more extraordinary. On Christmas day, as the king assisted at mass in St. Peter's church, in the midst of the ecclesiastical ceremonies, and while he was on his knees before the altar, the supreme pontiff advanced, and put an imperial crown upon his head. As soon as the people perceived it, they cried, "Long life and victory to "Charles Augustus, crowned by the hand of God! "—Long live the great and pious emperor of the "Romans" During these acclamations, the pope conducted him to a magnificent throne, which had been prepared for the purpose; and, as soon as he was seated, paid him those honours which his predecessors had been accustomed to pay to the Roman emperors, declaring that, instead of the title of Patrician, he should henceforth style him Emperor and Augustus. Leo now presented him with the imperial mantle; with which being invested, Charles returned amidst the acclamations of the populace, to his palace[17].

The pope had surely no right to proclaim an emperor; but Charles was worthy of the imperial ensigns: and although he cannot properly be ranked among the successors of Augustus, he is justly considered as the founder of the New Empire of the West.

Charlemagne was no sooner proclaimed emperor than his title was universally acknowledged; and he received several embassies, which must have given him high satisfaction, as they did equal honour to the prince and the man. Irene, empress of the East, the most artful and ambitious woman of her time, who had deposed her son Constantine, that she might

17. Id. ib. Eginhard. in *Annal.*

reign

reign alone, made the new emperor a propoſal of marriage. This propoſal was made with a view to ſecure her Italian dominions, which ſhe was informed Charles intended to ſeize; and the marriage-treaty was actually coucluded, when Nicephorus the patrician conſpired againſt Irene, baniſhed her to the iſland of Leſbos, and aſcended the imperial throne. Nicephorus alſo fearing the power of Charles, ſent ambaſſadors to him under the title of Auguſtus. They ſettled the limits of the two empires, by a new treaty; A. D. 802. according to which Calabria, Sicily, the ſea-coaſt of Naples, Dalmatia, and Venice, were to continue under the dominion of the emperors of Conſtantinople[18]. This treaty proves, that the Venetians were not yet altogether independent; but they aſpired at independency, and ſoon deſervedly obtained it.

The renown of Charles extended even into Aſia. He kept a correſpondence with the famous Harun-al-Raſchid, the twenty-fifth calif, and one of thoſe who contributed moſt to enlighten and poliſh the Arabs. This prince valued the friendſhip of Charlemagne above that of all other potentates; as a proof of which he complimented him with an embaſſy ſoon after he was proclaimed emperor, and ceded to him, if not the lordſhip of Jeruſalem, as ſome authors affirm, at leaſt the holy places in that city, whither devotion already led a great number of Chriſtians. Among the preſents which the ambaſſadors of Al Raſchid brought into France was a ſtriking clock, the firſt ever ſeen in that kingdom; for, notwithſtanding the efforts of Charlemagne to enlighten his nation, the ſcholars of his court were by no means equal to thoſe of the calif's in knowledge, nor his people in the arts, either liberal

18. Eginhard. in *Vit. Car. Mag.* Adon. *Chron.* Theoph. *Chronographia.*

PART I. or mechanical. The Arabs might then have been preceptors to all Europe.

I must here ſay a few words of this ſurpriſing phenomenon.

The Abaſſides having aſcended the throne of Mahomet, transferred the ſeat of the califat from Damaſcus to Caffa, and afterwards to Bagdad, on the banks of the Tigris. Thither the calif Al-Manſur attracted the arts and ſciences. The Greeks had furniſhed ideas, and communicated taſte to their barbarous conquerors; a ſpecies of triumph reſerved for civilized nations, even in a ſtate of ſervitude. Al-Mohdi, ſucceſſor of Al-Manſur, cultivated theſe precious ſeeds; and Al-Raſchid, ſucceſſor of Al-Mohdi, augmented their fecundity by his knowledge and attention, being equally liberal and enlightened. Under Al-Mamun, Al-Motaſem, Al-Watheck, and their immediate ſucceſſors, the ſciences flouriſhed ſtill more; but, at length, diſſenſions and civil wars robbed the Arabs, in their turn, of the fruits of genius and the lights of learning, which are almoſt inſeparable from public tranquillity.

In all nations the ſame revolutions are produced by the ſame cauſes. Nothing merits your attention more in the ſtudy of hiſtory.

One of the principal cauſes of the fall of empires has ever been, but more eſpecially in modern times, the error of dividing the ſame monarchy among different princes. The cuſtom was eſtabliſhed before
A. D. 806. Charlemagne: he followed it, by a teſtamentary diviſion of his dominions among his three ſons, Charles, Pepin, and Lewis. The particulars of this diviſion are

are of little consequence, as Lewis only survived his father. It is necessary, however, to observe, that the Italian provinces were assigned to Pepin; a donation which was confirmed to his son Bernard, with the title of king of Italy, and proved the ruin of that prince, as well as the cause of much disturbance to the empire. LETTER IX.

In the mean time, the emperor was threatened by a new enemy, and the most formidable he had ever encountered. The Normans, as the French call them, or the inhabitants of the great northern peninsula of Europe, (whom I shall afterward have occasion more particularly to mention) had long harrassed the coasts of his extensive dominions with their robberies and piracies; and notwithstanding the wise measures of Charles, who created a powerful marine, and took every other precaution against their ravages, they not only continued their depredations, but made a formal descent in Friezland, under Godfrey, their king, A. D. 808. laying every thing waste before them. Charles assembled all his forces in the neighbourhood of the Rhine, and was preparing for a decisive battle, which might perhaps have terminated the empire of the Franks, as Godfrey was not inferior to the emperor either in valour or military skill, and had a numerous body of fearless adventurers under his command. But the issue of this battle was prevented by the death of the Norman prince, who was assassinated by one of his followers. His forces were immediately re-imbarked, and a peace was afterwards concluded with his son[19].

The satisfaction which Charles must have received from this deliverance, and the general tranquillity which he now enjoyed, was more than balanced

19. Adon. Chron. Eginhard. in *Vit. Car. Mag.*

 by

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by his domeſtic misfortunes. He loſt his favourite daughter Rotrude (for whom he is ſuppoſed to have felt more than a fatherly affection), his ſon Pepin, and his ſon Charles. Soon after the death of Charles, he aſſociated his ſon Lewis with him in the empire. A. D. 813. The ceremony was very ſolemn. As if this great man had foreſeen the uſurpations of the church, he placed the imperial crown upon the altar, and ordered the prince to lift it, and ſet it on his own head[20]; intimating thereby, that he held it only of God.

A. D. 814. THE emperor died at Aix-la-Chapelle, his uſual reſidence, in the ſeventy-firſt year of his age, and the forty-ſeventh of his reign. The glory of the French empire ſeemed to expire with him. He poſſeſſed all France, all Germany, part of Hungary, part of Spain, the Low Countries, and the continent of Italy as far as Benevento[21]. But to govern ſuch an extent of territory, a monarch muſt be endowed with the genius of a Charlemagne.

20 *Vit. Ludovici Pii.* 21. Eginhard, ubi ſup.

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LETTER X.

Empire of CHARLEMAGNE *and the* CHURCH, *from the Accession of his Son,* LEWIS *the* DEBONNAIRE, *to the Death of* CHARLES *the* BALD.

THE hiſtory of Europe, for ſeveral ages after the death of Charlemagne, is little more than a catalogue of crimes, and a regiſter of the debaſing effects of ignorance and ſuperſtition. His empire ſoon experienced the fate of Alexander's. It had quickly attained its height; and yet, while animated by the ſuperior genius of Charles, it poſſeſſed a ſurpriſing degree of ſtrength and harmony. But theſe not being natural to the feudal ſyſtem, the diſcordant elements began to ſeparate under his ſon Lewis the Debonnaire, ſo called on account of the gentleneſs of his manners; and that vaſt body, no longer informed by the ſame ſpirit, was in a ſhort time entirely diſmembered.

LEWIS, though a prince of ſome abilities, was unable to ſupport ſo great a weight of empire: and his piety and parental fondneſs, however amiable in themſelves, enfeebled a character already too weak, and an authority never reſpected. He rendered himſelf odious to the clergy by attempting to reform certain abuſes, without foreſeeing that this powerful body would not pay to him the ſame ſubmiſſion they had yielded to the ſuperior capacity of his father. More religious than political, he ſpent leſs time in ſettling the affairs of his empire than thoſe of his ſoul; ignorant that true religion conſiſts in fulfilling the duties of our ſtation, and that the practices of the cloiſter are improperly aſſociated with the functions of the throne. But his greateſt error was occaſioned

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PART I. by his paternal affection, and a blind imitation of his father's example, in dividing his dominions among his children. Soon after his accession to the throne,
A.D. 817. he associated his eldest son Lothario with him in the empire: he created Pepin king of Aquitaine; Lewis, king of Bavaria; and, after the ceremony of coronation was over, he sent them to the government of their respective kingdoms[1].

Bernard, king of Italy, the grandson of Charlemagne, was offended at that division. He thought his right to the empire superior to Lothario's, as his father Pepin was the elder brother of Lewis. The archbishops of Milan and Cremona flattered him in his pretensions: he revolted, and levied war against his uncle, in contempt of the imperial authority, to which his crown was subject. Lewis acted on this occasion with more vigour than either his friends or his enemies expected: he immediately raised a powerful army, and was preparing to cross the Alps, when Bernard was abandoned by his troops. That unfortunate prince was made prisoner, and condemned to lose his head; but his uncle, by a singular kind of lenity, mitigated the sentence to the loss of his eyes.
A. D. 818. He died three days after the punishment was inflicted: and Lewis, to prevent future troubles, ordered three natural sons of Charlemagne to be shaved, and shut up in a convent[2].

In consequence of these rigours, the emperor was seized with keen remorse; accusing himself of the murder of his nephew, and of tyrannic cruelty to his brothers, inhumanly secluded from the world. He was encouraged by the monks in this melancholy hu-

1. Nithard. *de Dissentionibus Filiorum Ludovici Pii.*
2. *Vit. Lud. Pii.*

mour;

mour; which at laſt grew to ſuch a height, that he impeached himſelf in an aſſembly of the ſtates, and begged the biſhops to enjoin him public penance[3]. The clergy now ſenſible of Lewis's weakneſs, ſet no bounds to their uſurpations. The popes thought they might do any thing under ſo pious a prince: they did not wait for the emperor's confirmation of their election, but immediatly aſſumed the tiara, and were guilty of every other irregularity. The biſhops exalted themſelves above the throne, and the whole fraternity of the church claimed an exemption from all civil juriſdiction. Even that ſet of men who pretend to renounce the world, the monks, ſeemed to aſpire at the government of it.

LETTER X.

A. D. 818.

LEWIS, by the advice of his miniſters, who were deſirous to divert him from his monaſtic habits, had married a ſecond wife, whoſe name was Judith, deſcended from one of the nobleſt families in Bavaria, and diſtinguiſhed both by her mental and perſonal qualities. That princeſs brought him a ſon, afterwards known by the name of Charles the Bald, whoſe birth was the occaſion of much joy, but proved eventually the cauſe of many ſorrows. For this ſon there was no inheritance, the imperial dominions being already divided among the children of the firſt marriage. The empreſs, who had gained a great aſcendency over her huſband, therefore, preſſed Lewis to place her ſon Charles on a footing with his other children, by a new diviſion of the empire[4]. Aquitaine and Bavaria were ſmall kingdoms, from them nothing could be expected; but Lothario's ſhare was large, and might ſpare a little. Senſible of the wiſhes of his indulgent father, and prevailed on by the en-

A. D. 824.

3. Theophan. *de Reb. Geſt. Lud. Pii.*

4. *Vit. Lud. Pii.*

PART I. treaties of this fond mother, Lothario consented that some provision should accordingly be made for his brother Charles. But he soon repented of his too easy concession, and the three brothers joined in a rebellion

A. D. 829. against their father[5]; the most singular cirumstance, perhaps, to be met with in history.

THESE disorders were fostered by Walla, abbot of Corbie, a monk of high birth, who had formerly been in the confidence of Lewis, but was now in disgrace. He declaimed against the court, and against the empress in particular, accusing her of an adulterous commerce with count Bernard, the prime minister. His schemes succeeded. The emperor was abandoned by

A. D. 830. his army, and made prisoner, along with his wife Judith, and her son Charles. The empress was shut up in a cloister, and Lewis himself would have been obliged to take the monastic habit, had it not been supposed that he would make a voluntary resignation of his crown. He had the courage, however, to insist on the rectitude of his intentions while he acknowledged his errors, and promised to act with more circumspection in future. The nobility pitied their humbled sovereign; and by the intrigues of the monk Gombaud, who sowed dissensions among the brothers, Lewis was restored to his dignity, and seemingly reconciled with his family[6].

THE first use that the emperor made of his liberty, was to recall his consort to court; though not without the permission of the pope, as she had formally taken the veil. Bernard was also recalled, and Walla banished; yet Lewis did not long enjoy either peace or tranquillity. The monk Gombaud thought he had

5. Nithard. ubi sup. 6. Theogan. *de Gest. Lud. Pii.*

a right

a right to be prime minifter, as the reward of his fervices; and as women generally repay flattery with favour, they as generally referve vengeance for infult: the emprefs brought her animofities along with her. Walla's friends were perfecuted, and Lothario was deprived of the title of emperor, that the fucceffion might be referved for young Charles. The three brothers again affociated themfelves in a league againft their father [7]. Count Bernard, diffatisfied with his mafter's conduct, joined the rebels; and Gregory IV. then pope, went to France in the army of Lothario, under pretence of accommodating matters, but really with an intention to employ againft the emperor that power which he derived from him, glad of an opportunity to affert the fupremacy and independency of the Holy See. A. D. 832.

THE prefence of the pope, in thofe days of fuperftition, was of itfelf fufficient to determine the fate of Lewis. After a deceitful negociation, and an interview with Gregory on the part of Lothario, the unfortunate emperor found himfelf abandoned by his army, and at the mercy of his rebellious fons. He was depofed in a tumultuous affembly held on the fpot, and Lothario proclaimed in his ftead [8]. After that infamous tranfaction the pope returned to Rome. A. D. 833.

IN order to give permanency to this revolution, as well as to apologize for their own conduct, the bifhops of Lothario's faction bethought themfelves of an artifice, like that which had been made ufe of to degrade king Wamba in Spain. "A penitent," faid they, "is incapable of all civil offices: a royal penitent "muft then be incapable of reigning; let us fubject

7. Nithard. *de Diffent. Filior. Lud. Pii.*
8. Theogan. *de Geft. Lud. Pii.*

PART I. A. D. 833.

"Lewis to a perpetual penance, and he can never "ascend the throne." He was accordingly arraigned in the assembly of the states, by Ebbo, archbishop of Rheims (who had been raised by his bounty from the condition of a slave), and condemned to do penance for life [9].

Lewis was then a prisoner in the monastery of St. Medard, at Soissons; and being much intimidated, he patiently submitted to a ceremony no less solemn than debasing. He prostrated himself on an hair-cloth, which was spread before the altar, and owned himself guilty of the charge brought against him, in the presence of many bishops, canons, and monks; Lothario being also present, in order to enjoy the sight of his father's humiliation. But this acknowledgment was not enough: they gave him a written confession to read aloud, in which he is made to accuse himself of sacrilege and murder, and to number among his crimes the marching of troops in Lent, calling an assembly on Holy Thursday, and taking arms to defend himself against his rebellious children! for superstition can transform into crimes the most innocent and even the most necessary actions. After having finished his confession, this unhappy prince, by order of the ungrateful archbishop, laid aside his sword and belt, divested himself of the royal robes, put on the penitential sackcloth, and had a cell assigned him [10].

But the feelings of nature, and the voice of humanity, prevailed over the prejudices of the age, and the policy of the clergy. Lothario was universally abhorred, and his father no less generally pitied:

9. Id. ibid. 10. *Act. Exauct. Lud. Pii.*

his

his two brothers united againſt him, in behalf of that father whom they had contributed to humble. The nobility returned to their obedience: they paid homage to Lewis, as their lawful ſovereign; and the ambitious Lothario was obliged to crave mercy, in ſight of the whole army, at the feet of a father, and an emperor, whom he had lately inſulted in the habit of a penitent [11]. He received it, and was permitted to retain the kingdom of Italy.

LETTER X.

A. D. 834.

LEWIS immediately demanded abſolution (ſuch was his weakneſs!) and an aſſembly held at Thionville formally reſtored him to his dignity, declaring void every thing that had been done at Soiſſons. He might now have ended his days in peace, but for the intrigues of the empreſs Judith; who, ſtill ambitious of the aggrandizement of her ſon Charles, again entered into a negociation with Lothario, in conſequence of the death of his brother Pepin. An aſſembly was held at Worms, to which he was invited. His father received him kindly, the empreſs loaded him with careſſes. The kingdom of Neuſtria had lately been added to the dominions originally aſſigned her ſon; and the object of all theſe intrigues was, to engage Lothario in a ſcheme by which Charles ſhould alſo become poſſeſſed of the kingdom of Aquitaine, at the expence of Pepin's children. Lothario aſſented to what he was not in a condition to diſpute. But Lewis, king of Bavaria, though not injured by this new diviſion of the empire, was ſo much incenſed at its injuſtice, as he pretended, that he aſſembled the whole force of his dominions. His father marched againſt him, but was ſuddenly taken ill; and an eclipſe of the ſun happening at the ſame time, the ſuperſtitious old man had the vanity to think, that Heaven

A. D. 839.

A. D. 840.

11. Nithard. *de Diſſent. Lud. Pii.*

PART I.
A. D. 840.

had taken the trouble to foretel to mankind the death of a prince whoſe very virtues diſhonoured the throne, and who ſhould never have ſtirred beyond the walls of a cloiſter. He therefore repeatedly received the communion, and ſcarce any other nouriſhment, till his piety fulfilled the prediction which his folly had ſuggeſted [12].

Lewis died near Mentz, in the ſeventy-ſecond year of his age, and the twenty-eighth of his reign. He left a crown, a ſceptre, and a very rich ſword, to Lothario, by which it was ſuppoſed he alſo left him the empire, on condition that he ſhould fulfil his engagements to the empreſs and her ſon Charles. His brother, the biſhop of Mentz, obſerving that he had left nothing to his ſon Lewis, then in arms againſt him, reminded him that forgiveneſs at leaſt, was his duty. "Yes, I forgive him!" cried the dying monarch with much emotion; "but tell him from me, "to ſeek forgiveneſs alſo of God, for bringing my "grey hairs in ſorrow to the grave [13]."

A bad ſon, my dear Philip, is not likely to make a good brother; for the natural feelings in the ſecond relation are neceſſarily weaker than in the firſt: you muſt therefore expect to ſee the ſons of Lewis the Debonnaire armed againſt each other. No ſooner was Lothario informed of his father's death than he conſidered himſelf as emperor in the moſt extenſive ſenſe of the word, and reſolved to make himſelf maſter of the whole imperial dominions, regardleſs of his engagements with Judith and her ſon Charles the Bald, or the right of his brother Lewis to the kingdom of Bavaria. And he ſeemed likely to attain the object

12. *Vit. Lud. Pii. Annal.* Bertiniani. Theogan. *de Geſt. Lud. Pii.*
13. *Vit. Lud. Pii.*

of

of his ambition. He was a prince of great ſubtlety and addreſs, could wear the complexion of the times, and was poſſeſſed of an extenſive territory, beſide the title of emperor, which was ſtill much reſpected: he, therefore, aſſured himſelf of ſucceſs againſt his brothers; Charles being only a youth of ſeventeen, under the tuition of his mother, and Lewis a prince of no high reputation. He was deceived, however, in his conjectures. Theſe two princes, united by a ſenſe of common intereſt, gave him battle at Fontenai, in Burgundy, where fraternal hatred appeared in all its horrors. Few engagements have been ſo bloody. An hundred thouſand men are ſaid to have fallen on the ſpot. Lothario and his nephew Pepin (who had joined him to aſſert his right to the crown of Aquitaine) were totally defeated [14]. Pepin fled to Aquitaine, and Lothario towards Italy, abandoning France to the victorious army.

LETTER X.

A. D. 841.

NOTHING now remained for Lewis and Charles but to ſecure their conqueſts. For this purpoſe they applied to the clergy; and with hopes ſo much the better founded, that Lothario, in order to raiſe troops with more expedition, had promiſed the Saxons the liberty of renouncing Chriſtianity; or, in other words, liberty of conſcience, a thing held in abhorrence by the church of Rome. Several biſhops aſſembled at Aix-la-Chapelle; and, after examining the miſconduct of the emperor, aſked the two princes, whether they choſe to follow his example, or govern according to the laws of God. Their anſwer may eaſily be imagined. "Receive then the kingdom by the divine "authority," added the prelates: "we exhort you, "we command you to receive it [15]!"

14. Nithard. *de Diſſent. Lud. Pii.*

15. Id. ibid. *Annal. Metenſ.*

THIS

PART I.
A. D. 842.

THIS command would have taken effect in its most extensive meaning, if Lothario had respected it as much as his brothers. But that artful prince, by means of his indulgence to the Saxons, and other political expedients, was enabled to set on foot a new army. He became again formidable. The two victorious princes therefore thought it adviseable to negociate with him. By a new treaty of division, he was left in possession of the kingdom of Italy, with the imperial dignity, and the countries situated between the Rhone and the Alps, the Meuse and the Rhine. Charles retained Neustria and Aquitaine; and Lewis, afterwards styled the German, had all the provinces on the other side of the Rhine, and some cities on this side of it [16].

THE extinction of the civil war made but one evil less in the empire of Charlemagne, ravaged in different parts by the Normans, and by the Saracens, who pillaged Italy. The turbulent independency of the nobles, accustomed during the last reign to despise the prince and the laws, the discontents of the clergy, and the ambitious projects of both, were the source of new troubles. Every thing threatened the most fatal revolutions, ever thing tended to anarchy.

IN order to lessen these evils, the three brothers entered into an association, the effect of weakness more than affection, by which the enemies of one were to be considered as the enemies of all, (so low was the empire of the great Charles!) and in an assembly held at Mersen on the Meuse, they settled certain constitutions relative to the succession, and other public matters. By these it was established,

A. D. 847.

16. Nithard. ubi sup.

That

LETTER X.

A. D. 847.

That the children of the reigning prince, whether of age or under age, ſhould ſucceed to his dominions, and owe nothing to the other princes of the monarchy but the reſpect due to the ties of blood [17]; a regulation well calculated to prevent civil wars, though it proved ineffectual in thoſe diſorderly times. But other conſtitutions of the aſſembly at Merſen tended to enfeeble the royal authority, which had already but too much need of ſupport. They provide, That the crown-vaſſals ſhall no longer be obliged to follow the king, unleſs in general wars, occaſioned by foreign invaſions; and that every free man ſhall be at liberty to chuſe, whether he will be the vaſſal of the king or of a ſubject [18]. The firſt of theſe regulations increaſed the independency of the crown-vaſſals, and the ſecond their power, by augmenting the number of their retainers; for many perſons choſe rather to depend upon ſome neighbouring nobleman, whoſe immediate protection they might claim (at a time when protection was neceſſary, independent of the laws) than on the ſovereign, whoſe attention they had leſs reaſon to expect, and whoſe aid was more diſtant or doubtful.

Lothario, ſome years after, took the habit of a monk, that, according to the language of thoſe times, he might atone for his crimes; and, though he had lived a tyrant, die a ſaint. In this pious diſguiſe he expired before he had worn it quite a week. He had divided his dominions among his children: and, by virtue of the treaty of Merſen, they quietly ſucceeded to their allotments. Lewis had Italy, with the title of emperor; Lothario the provinces between the Rhone, the Soan, the Meuſe, the Eſcaut, and the A. D. 855.

17. *Annal.* Bertiniani. 18. Ibid.

Rhine,

PART I. A.D. 855. Rhine, called from his own name the kingdom of Lotharingia, and by corruption Lorrain. Charles had Provence, Dauphiné, and part of Burgundy. He took the title of king of Provence. One might have imagined there were now kings enough in this monarchy; yet Charles the Bald declared his infant ſon king of Aquitaine [19].

Thus was the empire of Charlemagne, ſplit by continual ſubdiviſions, the ſource of perpetual wars, till it became, to uſe the language of Shakſpeare, only "a ſtage to feed contention on." Foreign invaſions conſpired with civil diſſenſions to ſpread terror and diſorder in every quarter; but more eſpecially through the dominions of Charles the Bald, a prince as weak as his father, and reſtleſs as his mother. The Normans carried fire and ſword into the heart of his kingdom; to Rouen, and even to the gates of Paris. Young Pepin, ſon of the laſt king of Aquitaine, joined the invaders, and ravaged that country over which he had been born to reign. Nomenoe, duke of Bretagne, uſurped the title of king, which Charles was obliged to confirm to his ſon Heriſpee, by whom he had been totally defeated. The ſpirit of revolt became every day more general. Some factious nobles invited Lewis the German to uſurp his brother's kingdom. He came at the head of a powerful army, and received the homage of the principal nobility. Venilon, archbiſhop of Sens, and other prelates of Lewis's party, at the ſame time declared, that Charles had forfeited his dignity by mal-adminiſtration, and crowned his brother the German [20]. A. D. 858.

Charles, however, recovered his kingdom as quickly as he had loſt it. The prelates of his party ex-

19. *Annal Fuldenſ.* 20. *Annal.* Bertiniani, *Concil. Gal.* tom. ii.

communicated

LETTER X. A. D. 858.

communicated thoſe who had dethroned him, which brought the rebels into contempt, and even abhorrence. Lewis ſent back his army into Germany, that he might not give umbrage to the French, and he was afterwards obliged to take the ſame route himſelf [21]. Charles no ſooner appeared than he was univerſally acknowledged: his reſtoration did not coſt a ſingle blow. The moſt terrible anathemas were now denounced againſt Lewis the German by the French clergy, unleſs he ſubmitted to the rigours of the church, among which were included penance; and he was weak enough to reply, that he muſt firſt conſult the biſh of his own kingdom [22].

The weakneſs of Charles the Bald was ſtill more extraordinary. Having aſſembled a council to judge the traitor Venilon, he preſented a memorial againſt him, in which is the following ſingular paſſage: "I "ought not to have been *depoſed*; or at leaſt not "before I had been *judged* by the *biſhops*, who *gave* "me the *royal authority!* I have always *ſubmitted* to "their *correction*, and am ready now to *ſubmit* to it!" Venilon eſcaped puniſhment, by making his peace with the prince: and the biſhops of the council bound themſelves by a canon to remain united, "for the "*correction* of *kings*, the *nobility* and the *people* [23]!"

A variety of circumſtances ſhew, that the clergy now aſpired at the right of diſpoſing of crowns, which they founded on the cuſtom of anointing kings. They employed fictions and ſophiſms to render themſelves independent: they refuſed the oath of fealty, "becauſe ſacred hands could not, without abomina- "tion, ſubmit to hands impure [24]!" One uſurpation

21. Annal. Bertin. Fleury, *Hiſt. Eccleſ.*

22. Ibid.

23. *Concil. Galat.* tom. ii.

24. *Hiſt. de l'Egliſe Galic.*

led to another; abuse constituted right, a quibble appeared a divine law. Ignorance sanctified every thing: and we may safely conclude from the abject language of Charles, in publicly acknowledging the right of the bishops to depose him, and other examples of a like nature, that the usurpations of the clergy were, in a great measure, occasioned by the slavish superstition of the laity, equally blind, wicked, and devout.

THE zeal of the bishops to establish their independency was favourable to the projects of the court of Rome. Sergius II. the successor of Gregory IV. had taken possession of the Apostolic See, in 844, without the approbation of Lothario, then emperor. Incensed at such an insult, Lothario sent his son Lewis to Rome with troops and prelates. The pope having conducted the prince to St. Peter's gate, said to him, "I permit you to enter, if your intentions are good; if not, I will not suffer you to enter!" and the French soldiers being guilty of some irregularities, he actually ordered the gates to be shut. Lothario complained: Sergius was cited to appear before a council; he appeared, and justified himself in the eye of the priesthood [25]. Leo IV. celebrated for the courage with which he defended Rome against the Saracens, and Benedict III. elected in spite of the emperor, both lived in peace with royalty; but Nicholas I. more bold than any of his predecessors, made himself the judge of kings and of bishops, and realized the chimera of lying decretals.

A GRAND occasion offered in France for Nicholas to exercise that authority which he attributed to himself. Lothario, king of Lorrain, divorced his wife

A. D. 860.

25. *Concil. Gal.* tom. ii. Fleury. *Hist. Eccles.*

Teutberge,

LETTER X.

Teutberge, falsely accused of incest. She was cleared by the trial of boiling water, but afterwards convicted by her own confession; if an involuntary acknowledgment, the effect of violence and fear, can be called conviction. A council held at Aix-la-Chapelle authorized Lothario to espouse Waldrade, a young lady whom he had seduced. The guilty parties were equally desirous of this marriage; a criminal amour had drawn them to the brink of dishonour. The scandal was horrible! Nicholas laid hold of the affair, and attempted to force the king to take back his first wife. For this purpose he ordered the bishops to hold a council at Metz, along with his legates, and there to cite and judge Lothario. They confirmed the divorce, contrary to the expectations of the pontiff; a decree which so much enraged him, that he deposed the bishops of Treves and Cologne, who had been appointed to present to him the acts of the council. These bishops complained to the emperor Lewis II. He went immediately to Rome; displayed his authority, and seemed determined to repress the papal power. But he fell ill: a superstitious fear seized him; and he retired, after having approved the conduct of Nicholas, who became still more imperious. Lothario humbled himself in vain before the haughty pontiff; though he went so far as to offer to come and justify himself in person. The pope insisted, that Waldrade should first be dismissed; and a legate threatened the king with immediate excommunication, if he continued in disobedience. Lothario, intimidated, now submitted: he recalled Teutberge, and even consented that the legate should lead Waldrade in triumph to Rome. She set out on that mortifying journey, but escaped by the way; and, in a short time, resumed her place both as mistress and queen. Meanwhile the unfortunate Teutberge, sink-

A. D. 862.

A. D. 863.

PART I. ing beneath the weight of persecution and neglect, at last desired to be separated from Lothario, protesting that her marriage was void, and that Waldrade's was legitimate. But nothing could move the inflexible Nicholas: he continued obstinate [26].

WE may consider this pope as the forerunner of Gregory VII. and, in the same circumstances, he would likely have carried his ambition to the same height. The bishops of Treves and Cologne accused him, in an invective, of making himself *emperor* of the whole world; and that expression, though somewhat strained, was not altogether without foundation. He asserted his dominion over the French clergy, by re-establishing Rothade of Soissons, deposed by a provincial council; and he received appeals from all ecclesiastics dissatisfied with their bishops. By these means he accustomed the people to acknowledge a supreme tribunal at a distance from their own country, and consequently a foreign sway He gave orders for the succession to the kingdom of Provence, which Charles the Bald disputed with the emperor Lewis, brother to the deceased king. "Let nobody hinder the emperor," says he, in a letter on that subject, "to govern the kingdoms which he holds in virtue of a succession confirmed by the Holy See, and by the crown which the sovereign pontiff has set upon his head [27]."

NICHOLAS died in 867; but his principles had taken such deep root, that Adrian II. his successor, though more moderate, and desirous of peace, thought his condescension great in permitting Lothario to

26. Hincmar de *Divort. Lothar. et Theutberg.*
27. *Epist. Nicol. Pap.*

come to Rome, in order to juſtify himſelf, or do penance. Charles the Bald, and Lewis the German, waited with impatience for the excommunication of their nephew, perſuaded that they ſhould then have a right to ſeize his dominions. Thus the blind ambition of princes favoured the exerciſe of a power, which they ought to have foreſeen might be turned againſt themſelves; which afterwards became the ſcourge of royalty, and made every crowned head tremble.

LOTHARIO, while at Rome, employed all poſſible means to ſoften the pope: he received the communion from his hand, after having ſworn he never had any criminal commerce with Waldrade, ſince the prohibition of Nicholas; nor ever would have any in future [28]. He died at Placentia, in his way home. This accident was conſidered as a juſt vengeance; as a mark of the divine diſpleaſure againſt perjury, and rendered the proof by the euchariſt ſtill more important.

THE emperor Lewis II. brother of Lothario, ought legally to have ſucceeded to his dominions; but he being at that time employed in expelling the Saracens, who had plundered Italy, and conſequently not in a condition to aſſert his right by arms, Charles the Bald laid hold of the ſucceſſion, and retained it notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of the pope. "The *arms* "which God has put into our hand," writ Adrian, "are prepared for his defence [29]!" Charles was more afraid of the arms of his brother the German, with whom he found it neceſſary to ſhare the kingdom, though the nobility and clergy of Lorrain had voluntarily ſubmitted to him.

28. Adon. *Chron. Lotharii. Reg. Geſt. Rom.* 29. *Epiſt. Adrian.*

PART I.

The pope ſtill continued his remonſtrances in favour of the emperor, hoping at leaſt to obtain ſomething for him; but they were diſregarded by the French monarch, who had now thrown off much of his piety, and anſwered in a ſpirited manner by the famous Hincmar, archbiſhop of Rheims. This bold and independent prelate deſired the pope to call to mind, that reſpect and ſubmiſſion which the ancient pontiffs had always paid to princes; he bid him know that his dignity gave him no right over the government of kingdoms; that he could not be at the ſame time pope and king; that the choice of ſovereigns belongs to the people; that anathemas ill applied have no effect upon the ſoul; and that *free* men are not to be enſlaved by a biſhop of Rome [30].

Adrian affected to deſpiſe theſe arguments, and continued for ſome time his menaces, both againſt Hincmar and the king; but, finding them ineffectual, he changed his tone, and wrote ſeveral flattering letters to Charles, promiſing him the empire on the death of his nephew, then in a languiſhing condition. This project in favour of the French monarch was executed under John VIII. Adrian's ſucceſſor. The

A. D. 875. emperor Lewis II. died without male heirs. Lewis the German claimed the ſucceſſion, and the imperial dignity, as the elder brother of Charles: but the pope preferred the claim of Charles for political reaſons; which, with the court of Rome, never fail to take place of equity. Lewis ſeemed faſt approaching to his end, and had three ſons, among whom his dominions muſt be divided. Charles was a younger man, and had only one ſon; he therefore appeared the moſt proper perſon to chuſe as a protector. He croſſed the Alps at the head of his army, and accordingly re-

30. Fleury, *Hiſt. Eccleſ.*

ceived

ceived the imperial crown as a *present* from the pope; but much in the same manner that many presents of the like kind are obtained in our days, by paying roundly for it. In an assembly at Pavia, the bishops, abbots, and Italian nobles, recognized him in the following words: "Since the divine favour, through the "merits of the holy apostles, and of their vicar pope "John, has raised you to the empire, according to "the judgment of the Holy Ghost, we elect you unanimously for our protector and lord [31]." LETTER X. A.D. 876.

On the death of Lewis the German, a prince of considerable abilities both as a warrior and politician, Charles the Bald, always ambitious and imprudent, attempted to seize that part of Lorrain which he had granted to his brother, and was deservedly defeated [32]. His three nephews, Carloman, Lewis, and Charles, preserved their possessions by maintaining a strict union among themselves. The first had Bavaria, the second Saxony, and the third Suabia.

About this time the Saracens renewed their ravages in Italy. They took and plundered Comachio. Pope John had recourse to the emperor; and desired him "to remember the hand that had given him the "empire; lest," added he, "if driven to despair, "we should change our opinion!" That menace, sufficiently intelligible, had its effect. Though France was then over-run by the Normans, whom Charles was unable to resist, he undertook to expel the Saracens; and he was scarce arrived in Italy, when he received intelligence of a new enemy. Carloman, his nephew, had advanced against him, with an intention to seize the imperial crown and the kingdom of Italy, in virtue of his father's will, and the right A.D. 877.

31. Ibid. 32. *Annal Fuldens.*

PART I.

of primogeniture. Charles, betrayed by his nobles, retired with precipitation: fell ill, and died in a miserable cottage, at a village called Brios, in the fifty-fourth year of his age [33].

A CAPITULAR in the laſt year of Charles's reign, permits the nobility to tranſmit their employments to their ſons, or other male heirs [34]. This privilege, extorted from the crown, as I have already obſerved [35], was one of the principal ſources of diſorder in the feudal government; and tended, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſee, to the abolition of all political ſubjection. In the mean time I muſt ſpeak of a people, who deſerve your attention, no leſs on account of their manners than their warlike achievements.

LETTER XI.

The NORMANS *or* DANES, *before their Settlement in* FRANCE *and* ENGLAND.

LETTER XI.

THE braveſt and moſt liberal minded of the Saxons, my dear Philip, on the final reduction of their country by Charlemagne, having fled from the dominion and perſecutions of the conqueror, into the ancient Scandinavia, or that part of the northern peninſula of Europe which comprehends the preſent kingdoms of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, carried with them (as already obſerved [1],) their vengeance and violent averſion againſt Chriſtianity. There meeting with men of diſpoſitions ſimilar to their own, and the ſame religion with themſelves, they were cordially received, and ſoon ſtimulated the

33. Sigon. de *Reg. Ital. Annal.* Bertiniani. 34. *Capit. Caroli Calvi.*
35. Letter II. 1. Letter IX.

natives

natives to deeds of arms; to enterpriſes which at once promiſed revenge to the fugitives, and ſubſiſtence to the inhabitants of countries then overſtocked with people.

In their various incurſions on the continent, theſe ferocious adventurers were known by the general name of Normans, from their northern ſituation; and in their attacks upon Britain, by the common appellation of Danes, to whatever country they might belong. They became the terror of all the maritime parts of Europe—But before I ſpeak of their depredations, I muſt ſay a few words of their religion and manners.

The manners of a people, and their popular ſuperſtition, depend mutually on each other. Religion takes its complexion originally from the manners: men form a deity according to their own ideas, their prejudices, their paſſions; and the manners are, in a great meaſure, continued or altered by the eſtabliſhed religion of any country, eſpecially if calculated to affect the imagination. The religion of the ancient Scandinavians was highly ſo, and was preſerved entire among the Normans, who alſo retained their unadulterated manners. They were worthy of each other: equally bloody and barbarous, but formed to inſpire the moſt enthuſiaſtic courage, and the moſt unremitted perſeverance in toil. Odin, whom the Saxons called Woden, was their ſupreme divinity. They painted him as the God of *terror*; the Author of *devaſtation*; the Father of *carnage!*—and they worſhipped him accordingly. They ſacrificed to him, when ſucceſsful, ſome of the captives taken in war:—and they believed thoſe heroes would ſtand higheſt in his favour who had killed moſt enemies in the field; that after death, the brave would be admitted into his palace, and

PART I.

and there have the happineſs of drinking beer (the favourite liquor of the northern nations) out of the ſkulls of their ſlaughtered foes [2].

In conſequence of this belief, fatigues, wounds, combats, and perils, were the exerciſe of infancy, and the ſport of youth. They were forbid to pronounce the word fear, even on the moſt trying occaſions. Education, prejudice, manners, example, habit, all contributed to ſubdue in them the ſenſation of timidity; to make them covet danger, and ſeem greedy of death [3]. Military diſcipline was only wanting to have enabled them to enſlave the whole Chriſtian world, then ſinking under the weight of a debaſing ſuperſtition, and cringing beneath the rod of prieſtly tyranny.

Though Charlemagne, as I have had occaſion to notice, took many wiſe precautions againſt the Normans, he was not able wholly to prevent their irruptions, and was only freed by the death of their leader from a dangerous competition. Under Lewis the Debonnaire, they threw all France into alarm; and under Charles the Bald, they committed frightful devaſtations. Their fleets, which were compoſed of light barques, braved the ſtorms of the ocean, and penetrated every creek and river; ſo that they landed

2. See the *Edda*, or Syſtem of *Runic Mythology*. In that ſtate of feſtivity, the departed warriors were ſuppoſed to be ſerved at table by beautiful virgins called Valker, who miniſtered to other pleaſures beſide thoſe of the feaſt. (*Edda Mythol.* xxxi.) And war and arms, the delight of the Scandinavians in this life, were believed to be their amuſement in another world. *Edda Mythol.* xxxv.

3. "The battle is as pleaſing to me," ſays Lodbrog (who was a king and a warrior as well as a poet), "as the bed of a virgin in the "glow of her charms, or the kiſs of a young widow in her moſt ſecret "apartment." *Epiced.* Stroph. xiv.

ſometimes

fometimes on the coafts, and fometimes in the interior parts of the kingdom. As the government took no effectual meafures for repelling them, the unprotected people knew nothing but fear. Fire and fword, on all hands, marked the route of the ravagers. With their booty they carried off women, to whom they were much addicted, and boys to recruit their predatory bands. They were no fooner gone than they again returned. They pillaged Rouen twice; they furprifed and burnt Paris; they laid wafte Aquitaine and other provinces, and reduced the French monarch to the greateft diftrefs [4]. A. D. 845.

SHUT up at St. Denis, while his capital was in flames, Charles the Bald was lefs anxious about faving his people than the reliques. Inftead of encountering the enemy, he bought a peace; or, in other words, he furnifhed the Normans with the means, while he infpired them with the motive of a new war. They returned accordingly; and Charles, to complete his difgrace, publifhed, when going to affift the pope, in the laft year of his reign, a capitular to regulate the contributions to be paid to the Normans [5]. A. D. 877.

ENGLAND had alfo experienced a variety of calamities from the incurfions of thefe plunderers, when it found a protector in the great Alfred. But before I exhibit the exploits, or confider the inftitutions of that illuftrious prince, we muft take a view of the reigns of his predeceffors from the end of the Saxon Heptarchy.

4 *Ver. Chron. Hift. Norm.*

5. *Capit. Caroli Calvi.*

LET-

LETTER XII.

ENGLAND, *from the End of the* SAXON HEPTARCHY, *to the Death of* ALFRED *the* GREAT.

LETTER XII.

A. D. 827.

EGBERT, the firſt ſole monarch of England, was a prince of eminent abilities and great experience. He had enjoyed a conſiderable command in the armies of Charlemagne, by whom he was much reſpected, and had acted ſucceſsfully againſt the Normans, and other enemies of the empire. After his return to Britain, he was engaged in a variety of ſtruggles, before he obtained the ſupreme dominion; but having ſurmounted thoſe difficulties, he found himſelf without a rival. Being the only remaining deſcendant of Hengiſt and Horſa, the firſt Saxon leaders who landed in this iſland, and who were ſuppoſed to be ſprung from Woden, the chief divinity of the ancient Saxons, the people readily transferred their allegiance to a prince who appeared to merit it equally by his birth and talents; ſo that Egbert was no ſooner ſeated on the throne of England than the ſeven kingdoms of the Heptarchy were ſtrongly cemented into one monarchy. An union of government ſeemed to promiſe internal tranquillity; and the Saxons, from their inſular ſituation, and their power, had little reaſon to be afraid of foreign enemies. The Britons were humbled; and the Scots and Picts, waſted by continual wars with each other, being in no condition to moleſt Egbert, he flattered himſelf with peace and ſecurity. But human foreſight is very limited: a fleet of thoſe northern adventurers, whom we have already ſeen ravaging France, under the name of Normans, ſoon gave the Engliſh monarch reaſon to alter his opinion. They firſt landed in the iſle of Shepey, pillaged it, and carried off their booty with impunity.

impunity. They returned next year in thirty-five ships. Egbert gave them battle at Charmouth in Dorsetshire; where they were worsted, after an obstinate dispute, but made good their retreat to their ships. Now sensible what an enemy they had to deal with, they entered into an alliance with the Britons of Cornwal; and, landing in that country, their confederates and they made an irruption into the county of Devon. They were met by Egbert at Hengesdown, and totally defeated[1]. But whilst England was threatened with new alarms from the same quarter, this warlike monarch, who alone was able to oppose the invaders, unfortunately died, and left the kingdom to his son Ethelwolf, a prince better fitted to wear the cowl than the crown.

LETTER XII.

A. D. 832.

A. D. 835.

A. D. 838.

ETHELWOLF began his reign with dividing his dominions, according to the absurd custom of those times; delivering over to his eldest son, Athelstan, the counties of Essex, Kent, and Sussex. But no inconveniences seem to have arisen from this partition, the terror of the Danish invaders preventing all domestic dissensions. Time proved that this terror was but too just. The Danes returned with redoubled fury; and, though often repulsed, and sometimes defeated, they always obtained their end, by committing plunder, and carrying off their booty. They avoided coming to a general engagement, which was not suited to their plan of operations. Their vessels being small, ran easily up the creeks and rivers: they drew them ashore, and formed an entrenchment around them, leaving them under a guard. They scattered themselves over the face of the country in small parties, making spoil of every thing that came in their way; goods, cattle, and wo-

1. *Chron. Sax.*

men.

PART I. men. If oppoſed by a ſuperior force, they betook themſelves to their veſſels; ſet ſail, and invaded ſome diſtant quarter, not prepared for their reception. All England was kept in continual alarm: nor durſt the inhabitants of one part go to the aſſiſtance of another, leſt their own families and poſſeſſions ſhould be expoſed to the fury of the ravagers[2]. Every ſeaſon of the year was alike: no man could compute on a moment's ſafety.

ENCOURAGED by their paſt ſucceſſes, the Danes at A. D. 851. length landed in ſo large a body as ſeemed to threaten the whole iſland with ſubjection. But the Anglo-Saxons, though labouring under the weight of ſuperſtition, were ſtill a gallant people: they rouſed themſelves with a vigour proportioned to the neceſſity, and defeated their invaders in ſeveral engagements[3]. The Danes however ventured, for the firſt time, to take up their winter quarters in England; and re-A. D. 852. ceiving in the ſpring a ſtrong reinforcement, by three hundred and fifty veſſels, they advanced from the iſle of Thanet, where they had ſtationed themſelves, and burnt the cities of London and Canterbury. They were again defeated in ſeveral engagements; yet they ſtill maintained their ſettlement in the iſle of Thanet, and ſpent next winter in the iſle of Shepey.

THE harraſſed ſtate of his kingdom did not hinder A. D. 854. Ethelwolf from making a pilgrimage to Rome. Thither he carried Alfred, his fourth and favourite ſon, then only ſix years of age. In his return, after a twelvemonth ſpent in devotions and benefactions to the ſee of Rome, Ethelwolf married Judith, daughter of the Emperor Charles the Bald; and, ſoon after

2. Alured Beverl.

3. *Chron. Sax.*

his arrival in England, he conferred a perpetual and very important donation on the church, by granting to the clergy a tenth out of all the produce of land. This enormous tax upon induſtry had been long claimed by the ſervants of the altar, as a perpetual property belonging to the prieſthood; a jargon founded on the practice of the Jews. Charlemagne had ordered the tythe to be paid in conſideration of the church-lands ſeized by the laity; but, in England, no ſuch invaſion had been made. The church enjoyed many lands, and was enriched by the continual oblations of the people; the Engliſh clergy, therefore, had not hitherto been able to obtain their demand. But a favourable opportunity now offered, and religion furniſhed the motive; a weak and ſuperſtitious prince, and an ignorant people dejected by their loſſes, and in terror of future invaſions, greedily laid hold of any means, however coſtly, of bribing the protection of Heaven[4]. A. D. 856.

During the abſence of Ethelwolf, his eldeſt ſon Athelſtan died; and Athelbald, the ſecond ſon, had formed the project of excluding his father from the throne. This unnatural attempt gave the pious monarch little concern. He complied with moſt of his ſon's demands, and the kingdom was divided between them. Ethelwolf lived only two years after his return to England, which he left by his will to be ſhared between his two eldeſt ſons, Ethelbald and Ethelbert. A. D. 857.

Ethelbald was a profligate prince, but his reign was happily ſhort; and Ethelbert ſucceeding to the government of the whole kingdom, conducted him- A. D. 860.

4 Selden, *Hiſt. Tyth.* cap. viii.

ſelf,

PART I. ſelf, during a reign of five years, in a manner more ſuitable to his rank. England was ſtill infeſted by the depredations of the Danes: who, in this reign, ſacked Wincheſter, but were there defeated.

A. D. 866. ETHELBERT was ſucceeded by his brother Ethelred, whoſe whole reign was one continued ſtruggle with the Danes. He defended his kingdom with much bravery, and was gallantly ſeconded in all his efforts by his younger brother Alfred; who, though excluded from a large inheritance left him by his father, generouſly ſacrificed his reſentment to the pub-
A. D. 872. lic good. Ethelred died in the midſt of theſe troubles, and left his diſordered kingdom to his brother Alfred.

ALFRED was now twenty years of age, and a prince of very promiſing talents. He had no ſooner buried his brother than he was obliged to take the field againſt the Danes. They had ſeized Wilton, and were ravaging the neighbouring country. He gave them battle, and at firſt gained ſome advantage over them; but, purſuing his victory too far, he was worſted by means of the enemy's numbers. The loſs of the Danes, however, was ſo conſiderable that, fearing Alfred might ſuddenly receive reinforcements from his ſubjects, they ſtipulated for a ſafe retreat, under a promiſe to depart the kingdom. But they were no ſooner freed from danger than they renewed their ravages. A new ſwarm of Danes landed under three principal leaders; and Alfred, in one year,
A. D. 875. fought eight battles with theſe faithleſs and inhuman invaders, and reduced them to the greateſt extremity. But this generous prince again condeſcending to treat with them, was again deceived. While he was expecting the execution of the agreement, a

third

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A. D. 875.

third ſwarm landed from the northern hive, and reduced the Saxons to deſpair. They believed themſelves abandoned by Heaven, and devoted to deſtruction; ſince, after all their vigorous efforts, freſh invaders ſtill poured in upon them, as greedy of ſpoil and ſlaughter as the former. Some left their country, others ſubmitted to the conquerors, but none would liſten to the exhortations of Alfred; who, ſtill undiſmayed, begged them to make one exertion more in defence of their poſſeſſions, their liberties, and their prince [5].

Thus abandoned by his ſubjects, this illuſtrious monarch was obliged to lay aſide the enſigns of his dignity, and aſſume the habit of a peaſant. In that mean diſguiſe he eluded the purſuit and the fury of his enemies; and, in order to ſave his country, he even condeſcended to live for ſome time as ſervant to a grazier. But the human mind is as little ſuited to employments beneath, as above its capacity: the great Alfred made a bad cow-herd. His guardian genius was occupied about higher cares; and, as ſoon as he found the ſearch of his enemies become more remiſs, he collected ſome of his adherents, and retired into the middle of a moraſs, formed by the ſtagnating waters of the Thone and Parret; where finding ſome firm ground, he built and fortified a caſtle, no leſs ſecure by its own ſtrength than by its remote and inacceſſible ſituation. This place is called Æthelingey, or the iſle of Nobles. It now bears the name of Athelney. Here, during a twelvemonth, Alfred lay concealed, but not inactive: he made frequent and unexpected ſallies upon the Danes, who often felt the vigour of his arm, but knew not whence the blow came, or by whom it was directed.

5. *Chron. Sax.* Alured Beverl.

PART I. A. D. 880.

At length a prosperous event emboldened the royal fugitive to leave his retreat, and enter on a scene of action more worthy of himself.

ODDUNE, earl of Devonshire, being besieged in his castle by Hubba, a celebrated Danish general, made an unexpected sally upon the enemy, put them to rout, and pursued them with great slaughter; killed Hubba himself, and got possession of the famous *Reafen*, or Raven, an enchanted standard, in which the Danes put great confidence [6]. The news of this victory were immediately carried by the faithful earl to Alfred, who was happy to find the seeds of valour beginning to revive among his subjects; but, before he would assemble them in arms, he resolved to inspect the situation of the enemy, and judge of the probability of success, as an unfortunate attempt in the present state of national despondency must have terminated in final ruin. In consequence of this resolution, he entered the Danish camp under the disguise of a harper, and passed unsuspected through every quarter. He observed the supine security of the ravagers, their contempt of the English, and their neglect of all military regulations. Encouraged by these propitious appearances, he sent secret intelligence to his most powerful subjects, and summoned them to assemble, along with their retainers, on the borders of Selwood forest [7]. The English, who instead of ending their calamities by submission, as they fondly hoped, had found the insolence and rapine of the conquerors more intolerable than the dangers and fatigues of war, joyfully resorted to the place of rendezvous. They saluted their beloved monarch with bursts of applause; they could not satiate their eyes with the sight of a prince whom they

6. *Chron. Sax.* Abbas Rieval.

7. Gul. Malmf. lib. ii.

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A. D. 880.

had believed dead, and who now appeared as their deliverer: they begged to be led to liberty and vengeance. Alfred did not ſuffer their ardour to cool: he conducted them inſtantly to Eddington, where the Danes lay encamped; and, taking advantage of his previous knowledge of the enemy's ſituation, he directed his attack againſt their moſt unguarded quarter. Surpriſed to ſee an army of Engliſhmen, whom they conſidered as totally ſubdued, and ſtill more to find Alfred at their head, the Danes made but a feeble reſiſtance, notwithſtanding their ſuperior numbers [8]. They were ſoon put to flight, and routed with great ſlaughter.

ALFRED, no leſs generous than brave, and who knew as well how to govern as to conquer, took the remainder of the Daniſh army, and their prince Guthrum, under his protection. He granted them their lives on ſubmiſſion, and liberty to ſettle in the kingdoms of Northumberland and Eaſt Anglia (which were entirely deſolated by the frequent inroads of their countrymen), on condition that they ſhould embrace Chriſtianity. They conſented, and were baptiſed. The king ſtood god-father for Guthrum [9].

THIS mode of population fully anſwered Alfred's expectations. The greater part of the Danes ſettled peaceably in their new poſſeſſions; and the more turbulent made an expedition into France, under their famous leader Haſtings, who afterwards invaded England, but was expelled by the valour and vigilance of Alfred [10].

8. *Chron. Sax.* Simon Dunelm. Alured Beverl. 9. Ibid.
10. Gul. Malmeſ. lib. ii.

In the mean time this great prince was employed in eſtabliſhing civil and military inſtitutions; in compoſing the minds of men to induſtry and juſtice, and in providing againſt the return of like calamities. After rebuilding the ruined cities, particularly London, which had been deſtroyed by the Danes in the reign of Ethelwolf, he eſtabliſhed a regular militia for the defence of the kingdom. He took care that all his ſubjects ſhould be armed and regiſtered, and aſſigned them a regular round of duty: he diſtributed one part into the caſtles and fortreſſes, which he erected at proper places; he appointed another to take the field on any alarm, and aſſemble at ſtated places of rendezvous; and he left a ſufficient number at home, who were employed in the cultivation of the lands, and afterwards took their turn in military ſervice. The whole kingdom was like one great garriſon: the Danes could no ſooner land in any quarter, than a ſufficient force was ready to oppoſe them, and that without leaving the other parts naked or defenceleſs[11].

But Alfred did not truſt ſolely to his land forces. He may be conſidered as the Creator of the Engliſh navy, as well as the Eſtabliſher of the monarchy. Senſible that ſhips are the moſt natural bulwark of an iſland, a circumſtance hitherto entirely overlooked by the Saxons or Engliſh, as they began now to be generally called, he provided himſelf with a naval force, and met the Danes on their own element. A fleet of an hundred and twenty armed veſſels was ſtationed upon the coaſt; and being provided with warlike engines, and expert ſeamen, both Friſians and Engliſh, maintained a ſuperiority over the enemy, and gave

11 Spelman's *Life of Alfred.*

birth

birth to that claim, which England ſtill ſupports, to the ſovereignty of the ocean [12].

In this manner did Alfred provide for the ſecurity of his kingdom; and the excellent poſture of defence every where eſtabliſhed, together with the wiſdom and valour of the prince, at length reſtored peace and tranquillity to England, and communicated to it a conſequence hitherto unknown in the monarchy. But I ſhould convey to you, my dear Philip, a very imperfect idea of Alfred's merit, were I to confine myſelf merely to his military and political talents. His judicial inſtitutions, and his zeal for the encouragement of arts and ſciences, demand your particular attention. We muſt now, therefore, conſider him in a character altogether civil; as the Father of Engliſh law and Engliſh literature.

Though Alfred, in the early part of his reign, had ſubdued, ſettled, or expelled the Danes, as a body, ſtraggling bands of that people afterwards continued to infeſt the kingdom with their robberies; and even the native Engliſh, reduced to extreme indigence by theſe and former depredations, abandoned themſelves to a like diſorderly life. They joined the robbers in pillaging the more wealthy part of their fellow citizens. Thoſe evils required redreſs, and Alfred took means effectually to remove them. In order to render the execution of juſtice more ſtrict and regular, he divided all England into counties; theſe counties he ſubdivided into hundreds, and the hundreds into tythings. Every houſholder was anſwerable for the behaviour of his family, of his ſlaves, and even of his gueſts, if they reſided above three

12. Id. ibid. M. Weſtm.

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days in his houſe. Ten neighbouring houſholders, anſwerable for each other's conduct, were formed into one corporation, under the name of a tything, decennary, or fribourg, over which a perſon called a tything-man, headbourg, or borſholder, preſided. Every man was puniſhed as an outlaw, who did not regiſter himſelf in ſome tything; and no man could change his habitation, without a warrant and certificate from the borſholder of the tything to which he formerly belonged [15].

THESE regulations may ſeem rigorous, and are not perhaps neceſſary in times when men are habituated to obedience and juſtice. But they were well calculated to reduce a fierce and licentious people under the ſalutary reſtraints of law and government: and Alfred took care to temper their ſeverity by other inſtitutions favourable to the freedom and ſecurity of the ſubject. Nothing can be more liberal than his plan for the adminiſtration of juſtice. The borſholder ſummoned his whole decennary to aſſiſt him in the deciſion of ſmaller differences among the members of the corporation: in controverſies of greater moment, the diſpute was brought before the hundred, which conſiſted of ten decennaries, or a hundred families of freemen, and was regularly aſſembled once in four weeks, for the trying of cauſes [16]. Their mode of deciſion claims your attention: twelve freeholders were choſen; who having ſworn along with the magiſtrate of the hundred to adminiſter impartial juſtice, proceeded to the examination of the cauſe that was ſubmitted to them. In this ſimple form of trial you will perceive the origin of juries, or judgment by equals, an inſtitution now almoſt peculiar to the Engliſh nation; admirable in itſelf, and the beſt

15. *Fœdus Alfred. et Gothurn.* cap. iii. ap. Wilkins.
16. Id. ibid.

calculated

calculated for the preservation of man's natural rights, and the administration of justice, that human wisdom ever devised[17].

Beside these monthly meetings of the hundred, there was an annual meeting, appointed for the more general inspection of the police of the district; inquiring into crimes, correcting abuses in magistrates, and obliging every person to shew the decennary in which he was registered. In imitation of their ancestors the ancient Germans, the people on those occasions assembled in arms: whence a hundred was sometimes called a Wapentake, and its court served for the support of military discipline, as well as the administration of justice[18].

The next superior court to that of the hundred was the county-court, which met twice a-year, and consisted of all the freeholders of the county, who had an equal vote in the decision of causes; but of this court I have already spoke in treating of the laws and government of the Saxons. I shall therefore only add here, That to the alderman and bishop Alfred added a third judge in each county, under the name of Sheriff, who enjoyed equal authority with the two former[19]. His office also impowered him to guard the rights of the crown in the county, and levy the fines imposed; which, in an age when money atoned for almost every violation of the laws of society, formed no inconsiderable branch of the public revenue.

17. Trial by jury was known to the Saxons, at least in criminal cases, before their settlement in Britain. But, among the nations on the continent, it was not necessary that the members of a jury should be unanimous in their decision: a majority of voices was sufficient to acquit or condemn the person accused. Stiernhook *de Jure Sueon. et Gothor. Vetust.* lib. i.

18. Spelm. *Gloss.* in voc. *Wapentake.*

19. Ingulph.

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In default of juſtice from all theſe courts, an appeal lay to the king himſelf in council; and as the wiſdom and juſtice of Alfred were univerſally revered, he was ſoon overwhelmed with appeals from all parts of his dominions. In order to remedy this inconvenience, he choſe the earls and ſheriffs from among the men moſt celebrated for probity and knowledge in the kingdom: he puniſhed ſeverely all malverſation in office; he removed all whom he found unequal to the truſt [20]; and, the better to guide magiſtrates of all kinds in the adminiſtration of juſtice, he framed a body of laws; which, though now loſt, ſerved long as the baſis of Engliſh juriſprudence, and is generally eſteemed the origin of our COMMON LAW.

A. D. 890.

ALFRED appointed regular meetings of the ſtates of England twice a-year in the city of London, which he himſelf had repaired and beautified, and which thenceforth became the capital of the kingdom. Every thing ſoon wore a new face under his wiſe and equitable government. Such ſucceſs attended his legiſlation, and ſo exact was the general police, that he is ſaid to have hung up, by way of trial, golden bracelets near the high roads, and no man dared to touch them [21]. But this great prince, though rigorous in the adminiſtration of juſtice, which he wiſely conſidered as the beſt means of repreſſing crimes, preſerved the moſt ſacred regard to the liberty of his people. His concern on this ſubject extended even to future times, and ought to endear his memory to every Engliſhman. "It is juſt," ſays he in his will, "that the Engliſh ſhould for ever remain FREE AS "THEIR OWN THOUGHTS [22]."

20. *Le Miror de Juſtice*, chap. ii. 21. Gul. Malmeſ. lib. ii.
22. Aſſer. p. 24.

AFTER

After providing for the ſecurity of his kingdom, and taming his ſubjects to the reſtraints of law, Alfred extended his care to thoſe things which aggrandize a nation, and make a people happy. Senſible that good morals and knowledge are almoſt inſeparable in every age, though not in every individual, he gave great encouragement to the purſuit of learning. He invited over the moſt celebrated ſcholars from all parts of Europe: he eſtabliſhed ſchools every where for the inſtruction of the ignorant: he founded, or at leaſt repaired, the univerſity of Oxford, and endowed it with many privileges, revenues, and immunities: he enjoined by law all freeholders, poſſeſſed of two hides of land, to ſend their children to ſchool; and he gave preferment, either in church or ſtate, to ſuch only as had made ſome proficiency in knowledge[23]. But the moſt effectual expedient employed by Alfred for the encouragement of learning, was his own example, and the progreſs which he made in ſcience. Notwithſtanding the multiplicity of civil objects which engaged his attention, and although he fought in perſon fifty-ſix battles by ſea and land, this illuſtrious hero and legiſlator was able to acquire by his unremitted induſtry, during a life of no extraordinary length, more knowledge, and even to produce more books, then moſt ſpeculative men, in more fortunate ages, who have devoted their whole time to ſtudy. He compoſed a variety of poems, fables, and apt ſtories, to lead the untutored mind to the love of letters, and bend the heart to the practice of virtue. For the ſame purpoſe he tranſlated from the Greek the inſtructive fables of Æſop. He alſo gave Saxon tranſlations of the hiſtories of Oroſius and

23. H. Hunt. lib. vi. A hide contained land ſufficient to employ one plough. Gervaſe of Tilbury ſays, it commonly conſiſted of an hundred acres.

Bede,

PART I. Bede, and of the Consolation of Philosophy, by Boetius[24].

Alfred was no less attentive to the propagation of those mechanical arts, which have a more sensible, though not a more intimate connexion with the welfare of a state. He introduced and encouraged manufactures of all kinds, and suffered no inventor or improver of any useful or ingenious art to go unrewarded. He prompted men of activity and industry to apply themselves to navigation, and to push commerce into the most distant countries; and he set apart a seventh portion of his own revenue for maintaining a number of workmen, whom he employed in rebuilding the ruined cities and castles. The elegancies of life are said to have been brought to him, even from the Mediterranean and the Indies[25]; and his subjects seeing these desirable productions, and the means of acquiring riches by trade, were taught to respect those peaceful virtues by which alone such blessings can be earned or insured.

This extraordinary man, who is justly considered, both by natives and foreigners, as the greatest prince after Charlemagne that Europe saw for several ages, and as one of the wisest and best that ever adorned the annals of any nation, died in the year 901, in A. D. 901. the vigour of his age, and the full strength of his faculties, after a life of fifty-three years, and a glorious reign of twenty-nine years and a half. His merit, both in public and private life, may be set in opposition to that of any sovereign or citizen in ancient or modern times. He seems indeed, as is observed by an elegant and profound historian[26], to

24. Gul. Malmes. lib. ii. 25. Id. ibid. 26. Hume, vol. i.

be

be the complete model of that perfect character, which, under the denomination of a ſage, or truly wiſe man, philoſophers have been ſo fond of delineating without the hopes of ever ſeeing it realized. LETTER XII.

LETTER XIII.

EMPIRE *of* CHARLEMAGNE *and the* CHURCH, *from the Death of* CHARLES *the* BALD, *to the Death of* LEWIS IV. *when the* IMPERIAL DIGNITY *was tranſlated from the* FRENCH *to the* GERMANS.

THE continent of Europe, my dear Philip, toward the cloſe of the ninth century, offers nothing to our view but calamities, diſorders, revolutions, and anarchy. Lewis the Stammerer, ſon of Charles the Bald, may be ſaid to have bought the crown of France at the price, and on the conditions, which the biſhops and nobles were pleaſed to impoſe on him. He was not acknowledged till after he had heaped lands, honours, and offices on the nobility; and promiſed that the clergy ſhould enjoy the ſame emoluments, and the ſame privileges, which they had poſſeſſed under Lewis the Debonnaire[1]. LETTER XIII. A.D. 877.

POPE John VIII. made an effort to get Lewis elected emperor, in the room of his father, by the Italian ſtates; but not being able to carry his point, he retired into France, and held a council at Troyes, where he excommunicated the Duke of Spoleto, and the marquis of Tuſcany, for oppoſing his meaſures, and attacking the eccleſiaſtical ſtate. One of the canons of this council is very remarkable: it expreſly aſſerts, that "the *powers of the world* ſhall not dare to

1. Aimon. lib. v.

"ſeat

PART I. "ſeat themſelves in the preſence of biſhops, unleſs "deſired [2]."

A.D. 879. Lewis the Stammerer died in 879, after a reign of about eighteen months, and left his queen Adelaide pregnant. He was ſucceeded by Lewis III. and Carloman II. two ſons by a former wife, whom he had divorced. Duke Boſon, father-in-law to Carloman, procured them the crown, that he might afterwards ſhare the monarchy. By his intrigues with the pope and the clergy, he got a council to declare the neceſſity of erecting a new kingdom: and they beſtowed by the divine inſpiration, to uſe their own language, the kingdom of Arles, or Provence, upon this ambitious duke [3]. Italy was in the poſſeſſion of Carloman, king of Bavaria, who had alſo ſeized part of Lorrain, and the French nobility already enjoyed moſt of the lands; ſo that a king of France retained little more than the mere ſhadow of royalty.

On the death of Lewis and Carloman, the joint kings of France, who lived in harmony notwithſtanding their confined ſituation, their brother Charles, born after his father's death, and known by the name of the Simple, ought to have ſucceeded to the monarchy, by the right of birth; but as he was only five years old, and the nobility were deſirous of a king capable of governing, or at leaſt were afraid of the advancement of Hugh, ſurnamed the Abbot, to the regency (a nobleman of great integrity and abilities),
A. D. 883. they elected Charles the Fat, ſon of Lewis the German, already emperor, and ſucceſſor to his two brothers [4]. He reunited in his perſon all the French empire, except the kingdom of the uſurper Boſon; and proved, what thoſe who elected him had not ſuffi-

2. Concil. Gall. tom. iii. 3. Id. ibid. 4. Aimon. lib. v.

ciently attended to, if they meant the welfare of the state, That a prince may conduct his affairs with judgment, while confined within a moderate compass, and yet, be very unfit for the government of a great empire. LETTER XIII. A. D. 883.

The incapacity, and even the cowardice of Charles, became soon too obvious to be denied. Though he had governed his paternal dominions without any visible defect of judgment, and raised himself to the empire by his reputation and address, his mind, instead of expanding itself, to its new object, even shrunk from it, and contracted itself, till every mark of abilities disappeared. After disgracing himself by ceding Friezland to the Normans, and promising them a tribute for forbearance, he roused them by his perfidy, while he encouraged them by his weakness. Enraged at the death of their king, who had been invited to a conference and murdered, they entered France; penetrated as far as Pontoise, burnt that city, and besieged Paris[5].

This siege is much celebrated by the French historians: prodigies are related of both sides. Eudes, count of Paris, whom we shall soon see on the throne of France; his brother Robert; bishop Goslin; and after his death, bishop Anscheric, and abbot Eble, nephew to Goslin, were particularly distinguished by their valour and patriotism. The besieged defended themselves more than a year against an army of thirty thousand men, and the combined efforts of courage and stratagem, before the emperor came to their relief. At length Charles appeared on the mountain of Montmart, with the whole militia of his dominions under arms, fully persuaded that the Normans would retire at the sight of his standards[6]. But he soon A. D. 887.

5. *Chron. de Gest. Norm.* 6. Paul Æmil. *de Gest. Franc.*

found

PART I.
A. D. 887.

found his miſtake: they did not ſhew the ſmalleſt alarm; and Charles preferring a ſhameful negociation to a doubtful victory, engaged to pay them a prodigious ranſom for his capital, and the ſafety of his kingdom. Nay, what was ſtill more diſgraceful, not being able to raiſe the money till the ſpring, it being then the month of November, he permitted the Normands to winter in Burgundy, which had not yet acknowledged his authority; or, in other words, to continue their ravages, which they did with the moſt inſatiable fury [6].

THIS ignominious treaty, and its conſequences, entirely ruined the emperor's reputation, which was already low. He had no miniſter in whom he could confide; for he was neither loved nor feared. The Germans firſt revolted. Charles had incurred the hatred of the nobility by attempting to limit the hereditary fiefs; and he made the clergy his enemies, while he expoſed himſelf to univerſal contempt, by proſecuting Ludard, biſhop of Verceil, his prime miniſter, and the only perſon of authority in his ſervice, on a ſuſpicion of a criminal correſpondence with the empreſs Rachel, whom he impriſoned, and who completed his diſgrace. She kept no meaſures with him: ſhe affirmed, that ſhe was not only innocent of the crime laid to her charge, but a pure virgin, yet untouched by her huſband and her accuſer; in ſupport of which aſſeveration ſhe offered to undergo any trial that ſhould be aſſigned her, according to the ſuperſtitious cuſtom of thoſe times, when an abſurd appeal to Heaven ſupplied the place of a jury of matrons, and inſiſted on being admitted to her purgation. Ludard foſtered the general diſcontent; and Charles

A. D. 888. was depoſed in a diet of the empire, and neglected to

7. Chron. *Geſt. Norm.*

ſuch

ſuch a degree, as to be obliged to ſubſiſt by the liberality of the biſhop of Mentz[8]. LETTER XIII. A. D. 888.

ARNOLD, the baſtard ſon of Carloman, late king of Bavaria, and grandſon of Lewis the German, was now raiſed to the imperial dignity. Italy ſubmitted alternately to Berengarius duke of Friuli, and Guido, or Guy, duke of Spoleto, both of the family of Charlemagne by the mother's ſide. Their competitions were long and bloody. Count Eudes, whoſe valour had ſaved Paris, and whoſe father, Robert the Strong, had been no leſs brave and illuſtrious, was elected king of France; which he agreed to hold in truſt for Charles the Simple, yet a minor[9].

BUT France, notwithſtanding the courage and talents of Eudes, was ſtill a ſcene of contention and diſorder. A faction pretended to aſſert the right of the lawful heir, who was not really injured, and Eudes ceded to him the greater part of the kingdom. Count Ralph, or Rodolph, eſtabliſhed the kingdom of Burgundy Transjuran (ſo called on account of its relation to mount Jura), which comprehended nearly the preſent Switzerland and Franche Comte. A council confirmed to Lewis, the ſon of Boſon, the kingdom of Arles, as a council had given it to his father[10]. Hiſtory would be nothing but a mere chaos, were it to comprehend all the effects of violence, treachery, and anarchy, that diſgraced this period. I ſhall therefore only notice the leading circumſtances, which alone deſerve your attention.

EUDES died in 898, without being able to remedy the diſorders of the ſtate; and Charles the Simple, but too juſtly ſo named, now acknowledged king of A. D. 898.

8. *Annal. Fuldenſ. Regin. Chronicon.* 9. *Annal. Metenſ.*
10. Regin. *Chron.*

France

PART I. A. D. 898. France in his own right, increaſed by his weakneſs the prevailing evils. The nobles aſpired openly at independency. They uſurped the governments with which they had been intruſted, and extorted confirmations of them from Charles for themſelves and their heirs, on the eaſy condition of an empty homage [11]. A large, and once well regulated kingdom, was divided into a multitude of ſeparate principalities, altogether independent of the crown, or dependent only in name, whoſe poſſeſſors waged continual wars with each other, and exerciſed an inſupportable tyranny over their dependents, their vaſſals and ſub-vaſſals [12]. By theſe means the great body of the people was either reduced to a ſtate of abſolute ſervitude, or to a condition ſo precarious and wretched, that they were often happy to exchange it for protection and ſlavery [13].

THE Normans took advantage of this ſtate of weakneſs and anarchy to eſtabliſh themſelves in France. Rollo, one of their moſt illuſtrious leaders, and truly a great captain, after having ſpread terror over all the maritime provinces of Europe, failed up the Seine;
A. D. 905. took Rouen, fortified it, and made it his head-quarters. Now ſure of a ſafe retreat, he ſet no bounds to his depredations; and ſoon became ſo formidable, that Charles offered him his daughter in marriage, with the province of Neuſtria, as her dower. Francon, archbiſhop of Rouen, was charged with the negociation. He only demanded that Rollo ſhould acknowledge Charles as his ſuperior, and become a Chriſtian; and, in order to induce the Norman to embrace the faith, the prelate preached of a future

11. *Orig de Dignitez et de Magiſt. de France*, par P. Fauchet.
12. Id. ibid.
13. *L'Eſprit des Loix*, liv. xix.

ſtate,

ſtate of hell, and of heaven. Intereſt, not ſuperſtition, determined Rollo. After conſulting his ſoldiers, who, like moſt gentlemen of the ſword, were very eaſy on the article of religion, he agreed to the treaty; on condition that the province of Bretagne alſo ſhould be ceded to him, till Neuſtria, then entirely laid waſte by the ravages of his countrymen, could be cultivated. His requeſt was granted: he was baptized, and did homage for his crown, leſs as a vaſſal than a conqueror [14]. LETTER XIV. A. D. 911.

Rollo was worthy of his good fortune: he ſunk the ſoldier in the ſovereign, and proved himſelf no leſs ſkilled in the arts of peace than thoſe of war. Neuſtria, which henceforth took the name of Normandy, in honour of its new inhabitants, ſoon became happy and flouriſhing under his laws. Senſible that the power of a prince is always in proportion to the number of his ſubjects, he invited the better ſort of Normans from all parts to come and ſettle in his dominions. He encouraged agriculture and induſtry; was particularly ſevere in puniſhing theft, robbery, and every ſpecies of violence; and rigidly exact in the adminiſtration of juſtice, which he ſaw was the great baſis of policy, and without which his people would naturally return to their former irregulari-

14. When he came to the laſt part of the ceremony, which was that of kneeling and kiſſing the king's toe, he poſitively refuſed compliance: and it was with much difficulty he could be perſuaded to make that compliment, even by one of his officers. At length, however, he agreed to the alternative. But all the Normans, it ſeems, were bad courtiers; for the officer commiſſioned to repreſent Rollo, deſpiſing ſo unwarlike a prince as Charles, caught his majeſty by the foot, and pretending to carry it to his mouth, that he might kiſs it, overturned both him and his chair, before all his nobility. This inſult was paſſed over as an accident, becauſe the French nation was in no condition to revenge it. Gul. Gemet. *Chron. des ducs de Normandie.*

 ties.

PART I.

ties [15]. A taste for the sweets of society increased with the conveniencies of life, and the love of justice with the benefits derived from it: so that the duchy of Normandy was in a short time not only populous and cultivated, but the Normans were regular in their manners, and obedient to the laws. A band of pirates became good citizens, and their leader the ablest prince, and the wisest legislator of the age in which he lived.

WHILE these things passed in France, great alterations took place in the neighbouring states, and among the princes of the blood of Charlemagne. The most remarkable only merit your attention. Arnold king of Germany, and emperor of the West, was succeeded by his son, Lewis IV. only seven years of age. Another Lewis, king of Arles, and son of the usurper Boson, crossed the Alps, and obliged pope Benedict IV. to crown him emperor. But he was soon after surprised at Verona by Berengarius, who put out his eyes, and ascended the throne of Italy, which he had long disputed with the emperor Arnold [16]. In the mean time Lewis IV. died, and the empire departed from the French to the Germans; from the family of Charlemagne, to those Saxons whom he had subdued and persecuted; who became, in their turn, the protectors of that religion for which they had suffered, and the persecutors of other Pagans. But this revolution deserves a particular Letter.

A. D. 912.

15. Gul. Gemet. ubi sup. Dudon. *de Morib. et Act. de Norm. Duc.*
16. Annal. *Metens.*

LET-

LETTER XIV.

The GERMAN EMPIRE, *from the Election of* CONRAD I. *to the Death of* HENRY *the* FOWLER.

SOME historians, my dear Philip, are of opinion, that the German empire does not properly commence till the reign of Otho the Great, when Italy was reunited to the imperial dominions; but the extinction of the race of Charlemagne in Germany, when the empire was wholly detached from France, and the imperial dignity became elective, seems to me the most natural period to fix its origin, though the two first emperors never received the papal sanction. I shall therefore begin with Conrad, the first German who ruled the empire, after it ceased to be considered as an appendage of France. LETTER XIV. A.D. 912.

THOUGH the successors of Charlemagne possessed that empire which he had formed by virtue of hereditary descent, they had usually procured the consent of the nobles to their testamentary deeds, that no dispute might arise in regard to the succession. This precaution was highly necessary in those turbulent times, especially as the imperial dominions were generally divided among the children of the reigning family, who were by that means put in a better condition to contest a doubtful title. What was at first no more than a political condescension in the emperors, became gradually to be interpreted into a privilege of the nobility; and hence originated the right of those electors, by whom the emperor is still invested with the imperial power and dignity. They had already deposed Charles the Fat, and raised to the empire Arnold, bastard of Carloman, king of Bavaria [1].

1. See Lett. X.

PART I.
A. D. 912.

THUS authorifed by cuftom, the German nobles affembled at Worms, on the death of Lewis IV. and not judging Charles the Simple worthy to govern them, they offered the imperial crown to Otho, duke of Saxony. But he declined it, on account of his age; and, with a generofity peculiar to himfelf, recommended to the electors Conrad, count of Franconia, though his enemy. Conrad was accordingly chofen by the diet. The empire of Germany then comprehended Franconia, the provinces of Bamberg, Suabia, Conftans, Bafil, Bern, Laufanne, Burgundy, Bezançon, Lorrain, Metz, Liege, Cambray, Arras, Flanders, Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Cologne, Treves, Mentz, Worms, Spire, Strafbourg, Friezland, Saxony, Heffe, Weftphalia, Thuringia, Wetteravia, Mifnia, Brandenbourg, Pomerania, Rugen, Stetin, Holftein, Auftria, Carinthia, Stiria, the Tyrolefe, Bavaria, the Grifons; and, in general, all the countries fituated among thefe provinces, and their dependencies.

THE reign of Conrad I. was one continued fcene of troubles, though he took every neceffary meafure to fupport his authority and preferve the tranquillity of the empire. He was no fooner elected than he had occafion to march into Lorrain; where the nobility, being attached to the family of Charlemagne, acknowledged Charles the Simple as their fovereign, and offered to put him in poffeffion of that country. Before Conrad could fettle the affairs of Lorrain, he was recalled by the revolt of feveral powerful dukes, who envied his promotion. One rebellion fucceeded another; and, to complete his misfortunes, the Huns, or Hungarians, invaded the empire. They had for fome time been accuftomed to pafs the entrenchments formed by Charlemagne along the Raab, in order to reftrain their incurfions; and, no lefs fierce than their

anceftors,

anceſtors, they had laid every thing waſte before them, and borne down all oppoſition. In 901 they ravaged Bavaria, Suabia, Franconia: all Germany felt their fury. Lewis IV. ſubmitted to pay them an annual tribute. They had ſeveral times pillaged Italy; and now in their way from that country, where they had humbled Berengarius (taking advantage of the troubles of the empire), they made irruptions into Saxony, Thuringia, Franconia, Lorrain, and Alſace, which they deſolated with fire and ſword, and obliged Conrad to purchaſe a peace on the moſt ſhameful conditions [2]. He died without male heirs, in 919, after recommending to the Germanic body as his ſucceſſor, Henry duke of Saxony, ſon of that Otho to whom he owed his crown.

A. D. 917.

HENRY I. ſurnamed the Fowler, becauſe he delighted much in the purſuit of birds, was elected with univerſal approbation by the aſſembled ſtates; compoſed of the dignified clergy, the principal nobility, and the heads of the army.

A. D. 920.

THIS right of chuſing an emperor, originally common to all the members of the Germanic body, was afterwards confined, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſee, to ſeven of the chief members of that body, conſidered as repreſentatives of the whole, and of all its different orders; namely, the archbiſhops of Mentz, Cologne, and Treves, chancellors of the three great diſtricts into which the German empire was anciently divided, the king of Bohemia, the duke of Saxony, the marquis of Brandenburg, and the Count Palatine of the Rhine [3].

2. *Ann. Hildeſh. Annal. German.* ap. Struv. *Corp. Hiſt.* vol. i.
3. Goldaſt. *Politic. Imperial.* init.

PART I.

A. D. 925. It was ſtill undecided whether Lorrain ſhould belong to France or Germany. Henry, as ſoon as the ſituation of his affairs would permit, entered it with a powerful army, and ſubdued the whole country. His next care was the internal peace and proſperity of the empire. He publiſhed a general amneſty in favour of all thieves and banditti, provided they would enliſt in his armies, and actually formed them into a troop. He created marquiſes, in imitation of Charlemagne, to guard the frontiers of the empire againſt the Barbarians, and obliged all vaſſals and ſub-vaſſals to furniſh ſoldiers, and corn for their ſubſiſtence [4]. He likewiſe ordered the principal towns to be ſurrounded with walls, baſtions, and ditches; and, that the nobility might be habituated to the uſe of arms, even in times of peace, he inſtituted certain military games, or tournaments, in which they vied with each other in diſplaying their valour and addreſs.

After taking theſe wiſe meaſures for the welfare of the ſtate, Henry began to prepare for war againſt the Hungarians, whom he had exaſperated by refuſing the annual compoſition, and other marks of diſ-
A. D. 932. dain and defiance. Enraged at his firmneſs, they entered Germany with an army of three hundred thouſand men, breathing vengeance. But Henry being ſupported by the whole force of his dominions, though ſtill inferior to theirs, defeated them with great ſlaughter at Merſbourg, and reſcued the empire from a barbarous enemy, and an ignominious tribute [5].

Having thus ſubdued his enemies, and ſecured the tranquillity of his ſubjects, both at home and abroad, the emperor began to taſte the fruits of his

4. *Ann. Sax.* 5. Engelhuſ. p. 174.

wiſdom

LETTER XIV.

A. D. 936.

wiſdom and valour, when the pope and the citizens of Rome invited him to the conqueſt of Italy, ſtill diſtracted by civil wars, offering him the holy unction, and the title of Auguſtus. Henry, who was ambitious to be maſter of Italy, and no doubt deſirous of the papal ſanction to the imperial crown, ſet out immediately for that country at the head of his troops; but being ſeized with an apoplexy on his march, he was obliged to return, and died at Manſleben in Thuringia [6]. Before his death, he convoked the princes of the empire, who ſettled the ſucceſſion on his ſon Otho.

Henry was univerſally allowed to be the ableſt ſtateſman, and the greateſt prince of Europe in his time; but his ſucceſſor Otho, afterwards ſtyled the Great, ſurpaſſed him both in power and renown, though not perhaps in valour or abilities. For, as Voltaire well obſerves, the acknowledged heir of a great prince, who has been the founder or reſtorer of a ſtate, is always more powerful than his father, if not very much inferior in courage and talents:—and the reaſon is obvious. He enters on a career already opened to him, and begins where his predeceſſor ended. Hence Alexander went farther than Philip, Charlemagne than Pepin, and Otho the Great than Henry the Fowler. But before I proceed to the reign of Otho, we muſt take a view of the troubles of France under Charles the Simple, and his unhappy ſucceſſors of the Carlovingian race.

6. *Ann. Sax.*

PART I.

LETTER XV.

FRANCE, *from the Settlement of the* NORMANS *to the Extinction of the* CARLOVINGIAN RACE.

LETTER XV.

A.D. 911.

YOU have already, my dear Philip, seen the usurpations of the nobles, and the settlement of the Normans in France, under Charles the Simple. He gave daily more proofs of his weakness, and became equally contemptible to the French and Normans. A violent attempt was made to dethrone him by Robert duke of France, brother to Eudes, the late king. This rebellion was defeated, in the first instance, by the unexpected answer of Rollo, duke of Normandy, who generously declared, when solicited to join in it, that he was equally incapable of abetting or suffering injustice [1]!—Yet Rollo, as we have seen, was once a robber by profession. But then, as ought to be observed in his vindication, he was under engagements to no prince; and claimed the protection of no laws: he was then on a footing with the Cæsars and the Alexanders, and now only inferior in power to the Alfreds and the Charlemagnes.

AFTER the death of Rollo, duke Robert renewed his intrigues. He first made the king dismiss Haganon, his favourite minister; and next seized that minister's treasures, with which he gratified his adherents. They declared Charles incapable of reigning, and proclaimed Robert king of France. He was soon after killed in battle, yet his party triumphed: and his son Hugh the Great, or the Abbot, as he is styled by some writers, on account of the num-

A. D. 922.

1. Flodoard. *Chron.*

ber

ber of rich abbies which he held, had the crown in his power. But he chofe to place it on the head of Rodolph, duke of Burgundy, who affumed the title of king, and was almoft univerfally acknowledged [2]. LETTER XV. A. D. 923.

In this extremity, Charles had recourfe to William I. duke of Normandy, and to the emperor Henry the Fowler, who were preparing to affift him, when he was decoyed by the treacherous friendfhip of Herbert, count of Vermandois, into the fortrefs of Chatteau-Thierri, and there detained prifoner. A. D. 924. The unfortunate monarch now became the fport of the ambition of his own rebellious fubjects. The count releafed him, and paid homage to him as his fovereign, when he wanted to gain his ends with Rodolph, and fhut him up when they were accomplifhed. The county of Laon was the price of Charles's confinement. A. D. 929. He died in prifon [3].

After the death of Charles the Simple, Rodolph acted with much fpirit and refolution. He repelled the incurfions of fome new tribes of Normans, reftrained the licentioufnefs of the nobles, and reftored both tranquillity and vigour to the kingdom. But as this prince died without iffue, France was again involved in troubles, and a kind of interregnum enfued. A. D. 936. At length Hugh the Great, ftill difdaining the title of king, or afraid to ufurp it, recalled Charles's fon Lewis, furnamed the Stranger, from England; whither he had been carried by his mother Egina, daughter of Edward the Elder, and grand-daughter of the great Alfred [4]. She had taken refuge in the court of her brother Athelftan.

2. Monach. 3. Glab. *Hift. fui Temp.*
4. Flodoard *Chron.*

LEWIS

PART I.

A.D. 936. LEWIS was only in his seventeenth year when he was recalled, and in a great measure unacquainted with the affairs of France; yet he conducted himself with a spirit becoming his rank, though not without some degree of that imprudence natural to his age. He attempted to rescue himself from the tyranny of duke Hugh, who had been appointed his tutor, and allowed him little more than the name of king. But, after a variety of struggles, he was obliged to make peace with his vassal, and confirm to him the county of Laon[5], to which almost the whole royal domain was reduced.

A.D. 954. LEWIS the Stranger died in 954, and left a shadow of royalty to his son Lothario; or rather Hugh the Great was pleased to grant him the title of king, that he himself might enjoy the power[6]. This ambitious nobleman, no less formidable than the ancient mayors, died in 955. He was succeeded in consequence and abilities by his son Hugh Capet, whom we shall soon see on the throne of France. A.D. 955.

LOTHARIO wanted neither courage nor ambition. He attempted to recover Lorrain, which had been for some time in the possession of the emperors of Germany. But Otho II. by an artful stroke of policy, disconcerted his measures, and ruined his reputation. He ceded the disputed territory to the king's brother Charles, on condition that he should hold it as a fief of the empire[7]. Lothario, incensed at this donation, by which his brother was benefited at the expence of his character, his interest, and the honour of his crown, assembled a powerful army, and marched

5. Aimon. lib. v.

6. Flodoard. *Chron.*

7. Aimon. lib. v.

suddenly

suddenly to Aix-la-Chapelle, where he surprised the emperor, and put him to flight. He himself was vanquished, in his turn, and again victorious[8]. But, after all, he was obliged to resign Lorrain, which was divided between his brother Charles and the emperor Otho. LETTER XV. A. D. 980.

LOTHARIO died in 986, and was quietly succeeded by his son Lewis V. who governed under the direction of Hugh Capet, during a short reign of one year and two months, which was one continued scene of troubles. In him ended the Carlovingians, or the descendants of Charlemagne, the second race of French kings.—The affairs of the empire now claim your attention. A. D. 987.

LETTER XVI.

The GERMAN EMPIRE *and its* DEPENDENCIES, ROME *and the* ITALIAN STATES, *under* OTHO *the* GREAT, *and his Successors of the House of* SAXONY.

OTHO I. the most powerful emperor since Charlemagne, and who had the honour of reuniting Italy to the imperial dominions, was elected at Aix-la-Chapelle in 936, by the unanimous consent of the diet there assembled, according to the promise made to his father, Henry the Fowler[1]. He began his reign LETTER XVI. A. D. 936.

8. Id. ibid.

1. The diets of the German empire were originally the same with the national assemblies held by the kings of France. They met at least once a year, and every freeman had a right to be present. They were great councils, in which the sovereign deliberated with his subjects, concerning their common interests. But when the nobles and dignified clergy acquired, with the rank of princes, territorial and independent

PART I. A. D. 936. reign with the moſt upright adminiſtration, and ſeemed deſirous to live in peace and tranquillity. But his quiet was ſoon interrupted by wars both foreign and domeſtic, which he had ſufficient abilities to manage, and which terminated in his aggrandizement.

THE Hungarians, according to cuſtom, invaded the empire, committing every ſpecies of barbarity. Otho, however, ſoon put a ſtop to their ravages. He came up with them on the plain of Dortmund, in Weſtphalia, and defeated them with great ſlaughter. But the Hungarians were not the only enemy that Otho had to encounter. Immediately after his return from A. D. 937. this victory, he was informed that the Bohemians had revolted. Bohemia was then entirely barbarous, and moſtly Pagan. Otho, after a variety of ſtruggles, rendered it tributary to Germany, and alſo obliged the inhabitants to embrace Chriſtianity [2].

IN the mean time the emperor was engaged in many diſputes with his own rebellious ſubjects. Arnold, duke of Bavaria, being dead, his ſon Everhard refuſed to do homage to Otho, on pretence that he was not his vaſſal, but his ally. This ſtruggle between the crown and the great fiefs, between power which always ſeeks increaſe, and liberty which aſpires at in-

dependent juriſdiction, the diet became an aſſembly of the ſeparate ſtates that formed the confederacy of which the emperor was the head; and in which, if any member poſſeſſed more than one of thoſe ſtates, he was allowed a proportional number of ſuffrages. On the ſame principle the imperial cities, as ſoon as they became free, and acquired ſupreme and independent juriſdiction within their own territories, were received as members of the diet. Alrumæus de *Comitiis Rom. German. Imperii.)* The powers of the diet extend to every thing relative to the common intereſts of the Germanic body, as a confederacy, but not to the interior government of the different ſtates, unleſs when domeſtic diſorders diſturb or threaten the peace of the empire. *Pfeffel, Abrege.*

2. Dubrav. *Hiſt. Bohem.*

dependency,

LETTER XVI.

A. D. 937.

dependency, for a long time agitated Europe. It ſubſiſted in Spain, whilſt the Chriſtians had to contend with the diſciples of Mahomet; but after the expulſion of the Moors, the ſovereign authority got the aſcendant. It was this competition that involved France in troubles till the middle of the reign of Lewis XI. when the feudal lordſhips were gradually ſtript of their power, and the nobles reduced to a dependence on the prince; that eſtabliſhed in England the mixed government, to which we owe our preſent greatneſs, and cemented in Poland the liberty of the nobles with the ſlavery of the people. The ſame ſpirit hath, at different times, troubled Sweden and Denmark, and founded the republics of Holland and Swiſſerland: the ſame cauſe hath almoſt every where produced different effects!—The prerogatives of the prince have, in ſome inſtances, as in that of the German empire, been reduced to a mere title, and the national union itſelf preſerved only in the obſervance of a few inſignificant formalities. The duke of Bavaria was not willing to obſerve even theſe formalities: Otho therefore entered that country with an army, expelled Everhard, and beſtowed the duchy upon his uncle Bartolf, who willingly did homage for ſuch a preſent[3]. The emperor at the ſame time created one of Everhard's brothers count palatine of Bavaria, and the other count palatine of the Rhine. A. D. 938.

THIS dignity of Count Palatine was revived from the counts of the palace of the Roman and French emperors. Theſe Palatines were at firſt ſupreme judges, and gave judgment in the laſt appeal, in the name of the emperor. They were alſo entruſted with the government of the imperial domains.

3. Barre, *Hiſt. d'Allemagne*, tom. iii.

OTHO

PART I.

A. D. 940. OTHO having thus ſettled the internal tranquillity of the empire, (which, however, was ſoon diſturbed by the rebellion of his brother) aſſembled a diet at Arenſberg, where among other things it was debated, whether inheritance ſhould deſcend in a direct line; whether, for example, a grandſon, heir to an elder ſon, ſhould ſucceed, on the death of his grand-father, in preference to his uncles. The diet not being able to come to any determination on this point, though ſo clear according to our preſent ideas of inheritance, it was agreed that the cauſe, which had ſuggeſted the doubt, ſhould be decided by duel. An equal number of combatants were accordingly choſen on both ſides; and the ſuit was determined in favour of the grandſon, his champions being victorious[4]. The deciſion by arms was, for once conſiſtent with equity: the law is now univerſal. This mode of trial ſoon became general over Europe; and under the following reign a diet ordained, that doubtful caſes ſhould no longer be decided upon oath, but by the ſword[5]. The baſe at leaſt were, by that ordinance, deprived of the advantages which they might have reaped from perjury, whatever other inconveniencies might attend it[6]. And the regulation itſelf proves the baſeneſs as well as the ignorance of the age.

A. D. 943. IN order to counterbalance the power of the nobility, Otho augmented the privileges of the German clergy. He conferred on them duchies and counties, with all the rights of other princes and nobles; and, like Charlemagne, the founder of that empire, whoſe luſtre he reſtored, he propagated Chriſtianity by

A. D. 948. force of arms. He obliged the Danes to pay him

4. Id. ibid. 5. *Leg. Langob.* lib. ii.

6. This reaſon is actually aſſigned, in a Barbarian Code, in favour of the judicial combat, in caſes where an oath might ſettle the diſpute. *Leg. Burgund.* tit. xlv.

tribute,

tribute, and receive baptiſm, as an earneſt of their good behaviour [7]. The Bohemians, as I have already obſerved, were alſo ſubjected to the ſame conditions.

No ſooner did Otho find himſelf in quiet poſſeſſion of the North, than the South attracted his eye: and a favourable opportunity now offered of gratifying his ambition without injury to his humanity. Italy was torn by factions, and ruled by tyrants. Rodolph II. king of the two Burgundies, had dethroned Berengarius, and being himſelf dethroned by Hugh, marquis of Provence, whoſe ſon Lothario was alſo dethroned by Berengarius II. This Berengarius kept Adelaida, the widow of Lothario, in confinement. She invited Otho to her relief. He entered Italy at the head of a powerful army: delivered Adelaida, married her, and obliged Berengarius to take an oath of fealty, generouſly leaving him in poſſeſſion of the kingdom [8]. A. D. 952.

The pleaſure which Otho muſt have received from the conqueſt of Italy, was allayed by the revolt of his ſon Ludolphus; who, though already declared ſucceſſor to the empire, was ſo much chagrined at his father's ſecond marriage, that he engaged in a rebellion againſt him with the duke of Franconia, and other German noblemen. Purſued by the vigilance of the emperor, Ludolphus took refuge in Ratiſbon, where he was ſoon reduced to extremity. At the interceſſion of his friends, however, he was permitted to retire with his followers. He again rebelled; but returning ſoon after to a ſenſe of his duty, he took an opportunity, when Otho was hunting, to throw himſelf at his feet, and implored forgiveneſs in the moſt humiliating language. "Have pity," ſaid he, A. D. 955.

7. *Ann. Sax.* 8. Flodoard. lib. iv.

(after

PART I.

(after a pathetic pause) "on your child, who returns, like the prodigal son, to his father. If you "permit him to live, who has so often deserved to "die, he will be faithful and obedient for the future, "and have time to repent of his folly and ingratitude." The emperor, equally surprised and affected at this moving spectacle, raised his son from the ground, while the tears trickled from his eyes, received him into favour, and forgave all his followers [9].

A. D. 959. THIS young prince afterwards died in Italy, whither he had been sent by his father, to humble the ungrateful Berengarius, who had broke his faith with the emperor, and tyrannized over his countrymen. The untimely death of Ludolphus, which greatly affected Otho, gave Berengarius time to breathe. He was soon absolute master of the ancient kingdom of Lombardy, but not of Rome, which was then governed by Octavianus Sporco, grandson of the celebrated Marozia, concubine of Sergius III. By the great interest of his family, he had been elected pope at the age of eighteen, when he was not even in orders. He took the name of John XII. out of respect to the memory of his uncle, John XI. and was the first pope who changed his name on his accession to the pontificate [10].

THIS John XII. was a patrician, or nobleman of Rome, and consequently united in the papal chair the privilges of both temporal and spiritual authority, by a right whose legality could not be disputed. But he was young, sunk in debauchery, and unable to oppose the tyranny of Berengarius and his son Adelbert; he A. D. 960. therefore conjured Otho "by the love of God, and

9. *Annal. Germ.* ex Meib. 10. Sigon. *Reg Ital.* lib. vi.

"of

LETTER XVI.

"of the holy apoſtles, to come and deliver the Roman church from the fangs of two monſters." This flattering invitation was accompanied with an offer of the papal ſanction to the imperial crown, and of the kingdom of Lombardy, from the Italian ſtates [11].

In compliance with the requeſt of the pope, or rather with the occaſion it afforded of gratifying his own ambition, the emperor aſſembled a powerful army, and marched into Italy, after having convoked a diet at Worms, where his ſon Otho, by Adelaida, was elected his ſucceſſor; a neceſſary precaution, in thoſe troubleſome times, for ſecuring the crown in a family. Berengarius fled before him: he entered Pavia without oppoſition, and was crowned king of Lombardy at Milan, by the archbiſhop of that city, in preſence of the nobility and clergy, who had formally depoſed Berengarius. Rome alſo opened its gates to Otho: and the pope crowned him emperor of the Romans, dignified him with the title of Auguſtus, and ſwore allegiance to him on the tomb where the body of St. Peter is ſaid to be depoſited [12]. The emperor at the ſame time confirmed to the Apoſtolic See the donations made by Pepin and Charlemagne, "Saving in all things," ſays he, "our authority, "and that of our ſon and deſcendants [13];" expreſſions by which it appears that, in this grant, Otho reſerved to the empire the ſupreme juriſdiction over the papal territories.

A. D. 961. A. D. 962.

The emperor next marched in purſuit of Berengarius, whom he ſeized, and condemned to perpetual impriſonment. Meanwhile the pope, finding that he had given himſelf a maſter in a protector, repented of

11. Didmar. lib. ii. 12. Fr. Hen. Bod. Synt. ex Meib.
13. *Exemplar. Diplom. Othon.* ap. Baron.

PART I. what he had done; broke his oath to the emperor, and entered into a league with Adelbert, the son of Berengarius, though formerly his most implacable enemy. Otho suddenly returned to Rome; Adelbert fled; and a council deposed John XII. for his debaucheries, as was pretended, but in reality for revolting against the emperor, though his licentiousness was sufficiently enormous to render him unworthy of any civil or ecclesiastical dignity. Leo VIII. a layman, but a man of virtue, was elected his successor; and the clergy and citizens of Rome took anew the oath of allegiance
A. D. 963. to Otho, and bound themselves neither to elect nor consecrate a pope without the consent of the emperor [14].

But Otho having occasion to quell some distur-
A. D. 964. bances in Spoleto, a faction reinstated John XII. a new council deposed Leo, and a canon was enacted, declaring, "that no inferior can degrade a superior [15];" by which was meant to be intimated, not only that the bishops and cardinals had no power to depose a pope, but that the emperor, as a layman, owed to the church that very allegiance which he exacted from her.

Soon after this revolution, pope John was assassinated in the arms of one of his mistresses. His party however still refused to acknowledge Leo, and proceeded to the election of Benedict V. who was accordingly promoted to the chair of St. Peter. Informed of these audacious and faithless proceedings, Otho marched back to Rome, which he reduced, and restored Leo VIII. to his dignity. Benedict appeared before a council; owned himself guilty of usurpation; stript himself of the pontifical robes; implored compassion, and was banished to Hamburgh. Leo

14. Sigon. lib. vii.

15. Luitprand. lib. vi.

 VIII.

VIII. with all the clergy and Roman people, made at the ſame time a celebrated decree, which was long conſidered as a fundamental law of the empire; "That "Otho, and his ſucceſſors in the kingdom of Italy, "ſhould always have the power of chuſing a ſucceſ-"ſor, of naming the pope, and of giving inveſtiture "to biſhops [16]." LETTER XVI. A. D. 964.

THE affairs of Italy being thus ſettled, Otho returned to Germany; where he was ſcarce arrived, when the Italians again revolted, and expelled John XIII. who had been elected in preſence of the imperial commiſſioners, after the death of Leo VIII. Enraged at ſo many inſtances of perfidy, Otho once more entered Italy, and marched to Rome, which he treated with a ſeverity ſomewhat bordering on revenge, but juſtly merited. He baniſhed the conſuls, hanged the tribunes, and cauſed the prefect of Rome, who aimed at the character of a ſecond Brutus, to be whipt naked through the ſtreets on an aſs [17]. Theſe ancient dignities ſubſiſted only in name, and the people were deſtitute of every virtue. They had repeatedly broken their faith to the prince, whoſe protection they had craved, and to whom they had ſworn allegiance; an attempt therefore to reſtore the republic, which had at one time been conſidered as the height of patriotiſm, was now deſervedly puniſhed as a ſeditious revolt—though a perſon of no leſs eminence than Voltaire ſeems to conſider both in the ſame light. A. D. 965. A. D. 966.

AFTER re-eſtabliſhing the pope, and regulating the police of Rome, Otho retired to Capua, where he received ambaſſadors from Nicephorus, the Greek emperor, who wanted to renew the old alliance between the Eaſtern and Weſtern Empires, and alſo propoſed a marriage between his daughter Theophania A. D. 967.

16. *Extract.* in Gratiana. 17. Sigon. lib. vii.

 and

PART I. A. D. 967. and Otho's ſon, lately aſſociated with his father in the ſupreme power. In the courſe of this negociation, however, the Greek grew jealous of the German, and ordered the nobles to be aſſaſſinated who came to receive the princeſs. Incenſed at ſo enormous a perfidy, Otho directed his generals to enter Calabria,
A. D. 968. where they defeated the Greek army, cut off the noſes of their priſoners, and ſent them in that condition to Conſtantinople [18].

But peace was ſoon after eſtabliſhed between the two empires. Nicephorus being put to death by his ſubjects, John Zimiſces, his ſucceſſor, ſent the princeſs Theophania into Italy, where her marriage with young Otho was conſummated [19], and all differences
A. D. 970. happily accommodated. The emperor returned to Germany, covered with glory and ſucceſs, and lived to enjoy the fruits of his victories two years in his native Saxony. He died in 973, after a reign of thirty-ſix years; during which, by his generoſity and courage, he had juſtly acquired the appellation of Otho the Great, the Conqueror of Italy, and the Reſtorer of the empire of Charlemagne.

A. D. 974. Otho II. ſurnamed the Sanguinary, on account of the blood ſpilt under his reign, ſucceeded his father at the age of eighteen. His youth occaſioned troubles, which his valour enabled him to diſſipate. Henry, duke of Bavaria, and ſeveral other noblemen rebelled, but were all reduced in a ſhort time. Denmark and Bohemia felt his power, and Rome, by new crimes, offered a theatre for his juſtice. The conſul Creſcentius, ſon of the abandoned Theodora, who had been concubine to pope John X. revived the project of reſtoring the republic, and cauſed Benedict VI. who adhered to the emperor, to be murdered in priſon. His faction elected Boniface VII. another

18. Id. ibid.

19. *Annal de l'Emp.* tom. i.

faction

faction elected Benedict VII. and a third John XIV. who was put to death by Boniface [20].

THESE horrors succeeded one another so rapidly that chronologers have not been able to ascertain the dates, nor historians accurately to settle the names of the pontiffs. The pope of one party was the anti-pope of another. But Benedict VII. and the imperial party at last prevailing, Boniface went in person to Constantinople, and implored the Greek emperors, Basil and Constantine, to come and restore the throne of the Cæsars in Italy, and deliver the Romans from the German yoke [21].

THIS circumstance, my dear Philip, merits your attention. The popes, in order to increase their power, had formerly renounced their allegiance to the Greeks, and called in the Franks. They afterwards had recourse to the Germans, who confirmed the privileges granted them by the French; and now they seemed ready to receive their ancient masters, or rather to acknowledge no master at all: and hence they have been accused of boundless ambition. But in these proceedings I can see no foundation for such a charge. It is natural for man to desire sway; and, when obtained, to seek to increase it. When the popes were become temporal princes, they would consequently seek to secure and extend their dominion. If they had acted otherwise, they would not have been men. I am much more offended at that dominion of blind belief, which they endeavoured to extend over the human mind. The one was a generous, the other an ignoble ambition; the first made only a few men change their sovereign, the latter subjected millions

20. Sigon. lib. vii.

21. Id. ibid.

PART I. to a debasing superstition, and was necessarily accompanied with hypocrisy and fraud.

I HAVE already mentioned, in the history of France, the dispute about Lorrain, which Otho II. politically divided with Lothario's brother Charles, on condition that the French prince should do homage for it after the custom of those times, with bended knee, and closed hands. That war being finished,
A. D. 981. and the affairs of Germany settled, Otho marched into Italy, entered Rome without opposition, and severely chastised the rebels; but attempting to wrest Calabria from the Greeks, his army was cut in pieces by the Saracens, whom the Greeks had called to their assistance[22]. He died soon after at Rome, while preparing to take revenge on the enemy.

A. D. 983. OTHO III. already elected emperor, succeeded his father at twelve years of age; and his uncle and his mother disputing the administration, Germany was disquieted by a turbulent regency, while Rome became a prey to new factions, and the scene of new crimes. Crescentius blew again the trumpet of liberty, and persuaded the Romans they were still free, that he might have it in his power to enslave them.

BUT when the emperor, who proved a brave and enterprising prince, came of age, all things were soon
A. D. 989. reduced into order. He defeated the Danes, who had invaded the empire, and entered into a friendly alliance with Eric, king of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, on condition that German missionaries should be allowed to preach the gospel in his dominions[23]; a

22. Leo Ostiensis, lib. ii.

23. *Annal. de l'Emp.* tom. i.

great

great conceſſion in thoſe times, and highly mortifying to the worſhippers of Odin. LETTER XVI.

The affairs of the North being ſettled, Otho marched into Italy at the interceſſion of John XV. who was perſecuted by Creſcentius. Alarmed at the name of Otho, which had ſo often proved fatal to their confederates, the rebels returned to their duty, and Creſcentius was pardoned. But ſcarce had the emperor left Rome, when that licentious ſpirit again revolted; expelled Gregory V. the ſucceſſor of John XV. and elevated to the papal chair a creature of his own, under the name of John XVI. Enraged at this freſh inſult, Otho returned with a powerful army to Rome, which he took by aſſault; ordered Creſcentius to be beheaded, and the antipope to be thrown from the top of the caſtle of St. Angelo, after his eyes had been put out, and his noſe cut off[24].

A. D. 996.

A. D. 998.

Having thus puniſhed the rebels, reſtored Gregory, and received anew the allegiance of the citizens of Rome, Otho returned to Germany; whence he proceeded to Poland, which he erected into a kingdom at the ſolicitation of the duke Boleſlaus, who did him homage, and agreed to hold his dominions as a fief of the empire[25].

A. D. 1000.

But the Saracens about this time making an irruption into the Campania of Rome, the emperor was again obliged to march into Italy. He expelled the ravagers, and repaired with a ſmall body of troops to Rome, where his life was endangered by a conſpiracy; and, while he was aſſembling forces to puniſh the rebels, he is ſaid to have been poiſoned by a pair of

A. D. 1001.

24. Id. ibid. Heiſs, *Hiſt. de l' Emp.* tom. i.

25. Baron.

PART I. gloves sent him by the widow of Crescentius, whom he had debauched under a promise of marriage [26].

A. D. 1002. THE empire sustained a great loss in the death of this prince, who was equally brave, resolute, and just; and by a glorious reign of eighteen years, changed the surname of Infant, which had been given him at his accession, into that of the Wonder of the World.

As Otho III. died without children, a number of competitors started up for the empire, three of whom were supposed alike qualified to wear the imperial crown; Henry duke of Bavaria, Herman duke of Suabia, and Ekkard marquis of Saxony. But the duke of Bavaria being grandson to Otho II. by the female line, was elected in consequence of his superior power, and confirmed and consecrated under the name of Henry II.

THE new emperor had no sooner settled the affairs of Germany, and disconcerted an association formed against him by the king of Poland, than he found it necessary to march into Italy, where Ardouin, marquis of Ivrea, had assumed the sovereignty. Ardouin retired at the approach of Henry, who was crowned
A. D. 1005. king of Lombardy at Pavia, by the archbishop of Milan; but the marquis having some partizans in that city, they inflamed the populace to such a degree, that the emperor was in danger of being sacrificed to their fury. The tumult was at last quelled by the imperial troops. Those within the city defended the palace, while detachments from the camp scaled the walls, and committed terrible slaughter in the streets, till Henry ordered them to desist, and retired to the

26. *Hist de l'Eglise* par Rened.

fortress

fortress of St. Peter. Thither the principal citizens repaired in a body; implored the emperor's clemency; protested their loyalty, and laid the blame of the sedition on the partizans of Ardouin, who had practised on the ignorance of the vulgar. Henry generously admitted their apology: "Mercy," said he, "is my "favourite virtue; and I would much rather find "your obedience the result of affection than the con-"sequence of fear[27]." LETTER XVI. A.D. 1005.

THE troubles of Germany obliged the emperor to leave Italy without visiting Rome. But these being quelled, and the king of Poland, who had revolted, reduced to obedience, Henry afterwards returned to Italy, with his wife Cunegunda, and was crowned in St. Peter's by Benedict VIII. He at the same time defeated Ardouin, who had re-assumed the royal authority in his absence, and quieted the disorders of Lombardy. A.D. 1014.

CLOYED with success, sick of human greatness or of the toils of empire, and charmed with the tranquillity of a monastic life, Henry had for some time expressed a desire of retiring from the world, and now actually took the religious habit. But the abbot of St. Vall, when he received the emperor as a brother, wisely imposed the following command on him. "Monks owe obedience to their superior," said he: "I order you to continue at the helm of government[28]."

IN consequence of this injunction, Henry consented to wear the crown, and increased in prosperity to the hour of his death. Yet he seems to have been a prince of a weak mind; for, besides his monastic whim, A.D. 1024

27. Heiss, lib. ii. Barre, tom. iii.

28. *Annal. de l'Emp.* tom. i.

PART I. it appears that he had made a vow of chaſtity. And, when he felt his end approaching, he ſent for the parents of his wife Cunegunda, and ſaid, "You gave "her to me a virgin, and I reſtore her a virgin [29]!" Can a reſtraint on the natural inclinations be a virtue, where their indulgence does not interfere with the welfare of ſociety? Do not think ſo. Such a declaration from a huſband is ſufficient to make us credit the accuſations of adultery laid againſt Cunegunda, though ſhe is ſaid to have proved her innocence by handling red-hot iron.

LETTER XVII.

ENGLAND, *from the Death of* ALFRED *to the Reign of* CANUTE *the* GREAT.

LETTER XVII.

ENGLAND, my dear Philip, from the reign of Alfred to the Daniſh conqueſt, affords few objects to arreſt the attention of the ſcholar, the gentleman, or the politician. Little attention was paid to arts or letters; which, with manners, ſuffered a decline. The conſtitution continued nearly the ſame. A conciſe account of the principal reigns will therefore be ſufficient for your purpoſe; more eſpecially as England, during this period, had no connection with the affairs of the continent.

A. D. 901. ALFRED was ſucceeded by his ſon Edward the Elder, being the firſt of that name who ſat on the Engliſh throne. Though inferior to his father in genius and erudition, he equalled him in military talents: and he had occaſion for them. Ethelwald his couſin-german, ſon to king Ethelbert, Alfred's elder brother,

29. Id. ibid.

disputed

disputed the crown, and called in the Danes to support his claim. The death of Ethelwald, who fell in a battle with the Kentish men [1], decided the quarrel; but Edward's wars with the Danes continued during the greater part of his reign, though he was successful in almost every engagement. He died in 925. LETTER XVII. A.D. 910.

ATHELSTAN, Edward's natural son, obtained the kingdom, in preference to his legitimate children. As he was arrived at an age more suited to the cares of government, and the nation, exposed to foreign and domestic wars, required a prince of vigour and abilities, the stain in his birth was overlooked. A.D. 925.

No sooner was Athelstan securely seated on the throne, than he endeavoured to give it stability by providing against the insurrections of the domestic Danes. With this view he marched into Northumberland, their most considerable settlement; and finding that they bore with impatience the English yoke, he judged it prudent to confer on Sitheric, a Danish nobleman, the title of king, and to give him his sister Editha in marriage, as a farther motive of attachment. But this policy, though apparently wise, proved the source of many troubles.

SITHERIC died within a twelvemonth after his elevation; and his two sons, by a former marriage, Anlaf and Godfrid, founding pretensions on their father's rank, assumed the sovereignty, without waiting for the approbation of Athelstan. But they were soon expelled by that powerful monarch, who was no less brave than politic. The former took shelter in Ireland, the latter in Scotland; where he was pro-

1. *Chron. Sax.* H. Hunting.

tected

PART I. tected for some time, by the clemency of Constantine, who then swayed the Scottish sceptre. Continually solicited, however, and even menaced by the English monarch, Constantine at last promised to deliver up his guest; but secretly detesting such treachery, he gave Godfrid a hint to make his escape. Incensed at Constantine's behaviour, though the death of the fugitive had freed him from all apprehensions, A. D. 934. Athelstan entered Scotland with a numerous army, and reduced the Scots to such distress, that their king was happy to preserve his crown by the most humble submissions [2].

A. D. 938. ATHELSTAN afterwards defeated the Scots, Welsh, and Danes, in a general engagement at Brunsbury, in Northumberland. In consequence of this victory, he enjoyed tranquillity during the rest of his reign. He appears to have been one of the most able and active of our ancient princes: and his memorable law for the encouragement of commerce, discovers a liberality of mind worthy of the most enlightened ages; That a merchant, who had made two voyages, on his own account, to distant lands, should be admitted to the rank of a lesser thane or gentleman [3].

A. D. 941. ATHELSTAN was succeeded by his brother Edmund; who, on his accession, met with some disturbance from the Northumbrian Danes, whom he reduced to obedience. A. D. 945. He also conquered Cumberland from the Britons, and conferred that principality on Malcolm, king of Scotland, on condition that he should do homage to England for it, and protect the Northern counties from all future incursions of the foreign Danes [4].

2. Hoveden.
3. Brompton.
4. Gul. Malmesf. lib. ii.

En-

A. D. 948.

Edmund's reign was ſhort, and his death violent. As he was ſolemnizing a feaſt in Glouceſterſhire, a notorious robber named Leolf, whom he had ſentenced to baniſhment, audaciouſly entered the hall where his ſovereign dined, and ſeated himſelf at one of the tables. Enraged at ſuch inſolence, Edmund ordered him to be ſeized; but obſerving that the ruffian was preparing to reſiſt, the indignant monarch ſprung up, and catching him by the hair, dragged him out of the hall. Meanwhile Leolf having drawn his dagger, lifted his arm with a furious blow, and ſtabbed the king to the heart, who immediately expired on the boſom of his murderer[5].

Edmund left male iſſue; but as his eldeſt ſon was too young to govern the kingdom, his brother Edred was raiſed to the throne. The beginning of Edred's reign, like thoſe of his predeceſſors, was diſturbed by the rebellion of the Northumbrian Danes. Though frequently humbled, they were never entirely ſubdued, nor had they ever paid a ſincere allegiance to the Engliſh crown. Their obedience laſted no longer than the preſent terror. Edred, inſtructed by experience, took every precaution to prevent their future inſurrections. He ſettled Engliſh garriſons in their moſt conſiderable towns, and placed over them an Engliſh governor, to watch their motions, and check the firſt appearance of revolt. He alſo obliged Malcolm, king of Scotland, to renew his homage for Cumberland[6]. A. D. 952.

But Edred, though a brave and active prince, lay under the influence of the loweſt ſuperſtition, and had blindly delivered over his conſcience to the guidance

5. Id. ibid. H. Hunting. lib. v.

6. Hoveden.

of

PART I.

of Dunſtan, abbot of Glaſtonbury, commonly called St. Dunſtan, whom he advanced to the higheſt offices of ſtate, and who concealed beneath an appearance of ſanctity the moſt inſatiable and inſolent ambition. In order to impoſe on the credulity of mankind, this deſigning monk had long ſecluded himſelf from the world in a miſerable cell, where he is ſaid to have had frequent conflicts with the Devil; until one day, when the Infernal Spirit attempting to ſeduce him in the ſhape of a woman, Dunſtan ſeized him by the noſe with a pair of red-hot pincers, and held him till the whole neighbourhood reſounded with his bellowings [7]. Satan, thus vanquiſhed, durſt never more ſhew his face. This ſtory, and others of a like nature, then ſeriouſly believed, obtained the abbot a reputation, both with prince and people, which no real piety or virtue could poſſibly have procured him. Soon after his return from ſolitude, he was placed by Edred at the head of the treaſury; and, ſenſible that he owed his advancement ſolely to the opinion of his auſterity, he profeſſed himſelf a friend to the rigid monaſtic rules, which about this time began to prevail, and by which monks were excluded from all commerce with the world and with women. He introduced them into the convents of Glaſtonbury and Abingdon, and endeavoured to render them univerſal in the kingdom [8].

A WORD here of the monaſtic life.

THERE had been monaſteries in England from the firſt introduction of Chriſtianity among the Saxons, and theſe eſtabliſhments had been greatly multiplied by the miſtaken piety of the Engliſh princes and nobles, who ſought to bribe Heaven by donations to

7. Oſberne, in *Anglia Sacra*, vol. ii. 8. Id. ibid.

the

the church. But the monks had hitherto been a ſpecies of ſecular prieſts, who were at liberty either to marry or continue ſingle, and who lived after the manner of our preſent canons or prebendaries. They both intermingled with the world, in ſome degree, and endeavoured to render themſelves uſeful to it. A ſuperſtitious devotion, however, had produced in Italy a new ſpecies of monks, who ſecluded themſelves entirely from the world, renounced all claim to liberty, and made a merit of the moſt inviolable chaſtity. Dunſtan laid hold of this circumſtance to commence reformer. The popes had favoured the doctrine from motives of general policy, as detaching the eccleſiaſtical from the civil power: the abbot embraced it for his own aggrandiſement. Celibacy was therefore extolled as the univerſal duty of prieſts; and, in England, the minds of men were already prepared for ſuch an innovation, though it militates againſt the ſtrongeſt propenſities in human nature.

THE firſt preachers of Chriſtianity among the Saxons had carried to the moſt extravagant height the praiſes of inviolable chaſtity; the pleaſures of love had been reprenſented as incompatible with Chriſtian perfection; and an abſtinence from all commerce with the ſofter ſex, certainly the higheſt act of ſelf-denial, was deemed a ſufficient atonement for the greateſt enormities. It therefore naturally followed, as a conſequence of this doctrine, That thoſe who officiated at the altar ſhould at leaſt be free from ſuch pollution. And Dunſtan and his reformed monks knew well how to avail themſelves of theſe popular topics, and ſet off their own character to the beſt advantage. On the other hand, their rivals the ſecular clergy, who were numerous and rich, and poſſeſſed of the eccleſiaſtical dignities, defended themſelves with vigour, and boldly maintained the ſanctity of the

PART I. the inſtitution of marriage[9]. The whole nation was thrown into a ferment.

In the mean time, the power of the monks re-
A. D. 955. ceived a check by the death of Edred, the dupe of their ambition. He left children, but in an infant ſtate; the crown was therefore conferred on Edwy, his nephew, ſon to Edmund, his brother and predeceſſor[10].

This prince, who was only ſeventeen years of age at his acceſſion, poſſeſſed an elegant perſon, and the moſt amiable and promiſing virtues. But neither the graces of his figure, nor the accompliſhments of his mind, could ſcreen him from the fury of the monks, whom he unhappily offended in the beginning of his reign. The beautiful Elgiva, his ſecond or third couſin, had made an impreſſion on the ſuſceptible heart of Edwy; and, as he was at an age when the tender paſſions are moſt keenly felt, he ventured to marry her, though within the degrees of affinity prohibited by the church. The auſterity of the monks made them particularly violent on this occaſion: the king therefore entertained a ſtrong averſion againſt them, and determined to oppoſe their project of expelling the ſeculars from the convents. But he had ſoon reaſon to repent his raſhneſs, in provoking ſuch dangerous enemies. On the day of his coronation, while the nobility, aſſembled in the great hall, were indulging themſelves in riot and diſorder, after the example of their German anceſtors, Edwy, attracted by the gentler pleaſures of love, retired to the queen's apartment, and gave looſe to his fondneſs, which was but feebly checked by the preſence

9. Spelm. *Con.* vol. i.

10. *Chron. Sax.*

of

of her mother. Dunſtan conjectured the reaſon of the king's abſence; and carrying along with him Odo, archbiſhop of Canterbury, over whom he had gained an abſolute aſcendant, he burſt into the royal privacy; upbraided Edwy of laſciviouſneſs, tore him from the arms of his conſort, and puſhed him back ignominiouſly into the company of the nobles, loading the queen with the moſt opprobrious epithets [11].

LETTER XVII.

THOUGH Edwy was young, and had the prejudices of the age to encounter, he found means to revenge this public inſult. He accuſed Dunſtan of malverſation in office, while at the head of the treaſury; and as that miniſter did not clear himſelf of the charge, the king baniſhed him the realm. But Dunſtan's party were not idle during his abſence. They poiſoned the minds of the people to ſuch a degree by declamations againſt the king, and panegyrics on the abbot's ſanctity, that the royal authority was deſpiſed, and ſtill more outrageouſly inſulted. Archbiſhop Odo ordered the queen to be ſeized; and after her face had been ſeared with a red-hot iron, in order to deſtroy that fatal beauty which had enſnared the king, ſhe was carried into Ireland, there to remain in perpetual exile [12].

EDWY finding reſiſtance ineffectual, was obliged to conſent to a divorce, which was pronounced by the imperious Odo. But theſe were not the only evils which attended this unfortunate prince and his conſort. The amiable Elgiva was made priſoner by her perſecutors, and cruelly murdered in returning to the embraces of the king, whom ſhe ſtill conſidered as her huſband. Nothing leſs than her death could ſatisfy

11. Gul. Malmeſ. lib. ii.

12. Oſberne, ubi ſup.

PART I.

the archbishop and the monks. Edwy was dethroned by the same influence, in order to make room for his brother Edgar, a boy of thirteen years of age. Dunstan returned to England, and took upon him the government of the young king and his party. He was first installed in the see of Worcester, next in that of London, and afterwards in that of Canterbury; of all which he long kept possession. In the mean time the unhappy Edwy was excommunicated, and pursued by his enemies with unrelenting vengeance [13].

A. D. 959. But his death soon freed them from all inquietude, and left Edgar in peaceable possession of the throne.

THE reign of Edgar is one of the most fortunate in the English annals. Though he ascended the throne in early youth, he soon discovered an excellent capacity for government. He shewed no aversion against war: he took the wisest precautions for public safety; and, by his vigilance and foresight, he was enabled to indulge his natural inclination for peace. He maintained a body of troops in the North, to keep the mutinous Northumbrians in awe, and to repel the inroads of the Scots. He also built and supported a powerful navy; and, in order to habituate the seamen to the practice of their profession, as well as to intimidate his enemies, he stationed three squadrons off the coasts of his kingdom, and commanded them to make by turns the circuit of his dominions. The foreign Danes durst not approach a country which was so strongly defended: the domestic Danes saw destruction to be the inevitable consequence of insurrection; and the princes of Wales, of Scotland, and even of Ireland, were happy to appease so potent a monarch by submissions [14].

13. Brompton.

14. Spelm. *Conc.* vol. i.

BUT

BUT the means by which Edgar more eſpecially maintained his authority at home, and preſerved public tranquillity, was paying court to Dunſtan and the monks, who had violently placed him on the throne, and whoſe claim to ſuperior ſanctity gave them an aſcendant over the people. He favoured their ſcheme of reformation, as it was called, but in reality of diſpoſſeſſing the ſecular canons of the monaſteries: he conſulted them in the adminiſtration of all eccleſiaſtical, and even of many civil affairs; and although the vigour of his genius prevented him from being entirely guided by them, he took care never to diſoblige them. Hence he is repreſented by the monkiſh writers not only as a warrior and a politician, a character which he ſeems to have merited, but alſo as a ſaint and a man of virtue, though he was licentious in the higheſt degree, and violated every law human and divine. His very amours are a compound of barbarity and brutality. He broke into a convent, carried off a nun by force, and even committed violence on her perſon[15]. Struck alſo with the charms of a nobleman's daughter, in whoſe houſe he was entertained, he demanded that ſhe ſhould paſs that very night with him, without once conſulting the young lady's inclinations[16]. But his moſt remarkable amour was with the beautiful Elfrida; and, as it is connected with the hiſtory of the following reign, I ſhall relate it circumſtantially. It will give you at once an idea of the manners of the age, and of the character of Edgar.

15. Gul. Malmeſ lib. ii.

16. This demand was made to the mother, who being a woman of virtue, ſent ſecretly to the king's bed, inſtead of her daughter, her maid Elfleda; with whom Edgar paſſed the night ſo much to his ſatisfaction, that he not only forgave the old lady for her pious deceit, but transferred his love to Elfleda, who became his favourite miſtreſs." Gul. Malmeſ. ubi ſup.

PART I.

Elfrida, the only daughter and sole heiress of Olgar, earl of Devonshire, though educated in the country, and a stranger at court, had filled all England with the reputation of her beauty. Edgar, who was never indifferent to any report of this kind, sent Athelwold, his favourite, to see if the young lady was indeed as fair as fame had represented her. Athelwold no sooner saw Elfrida than he was inflamed with love, and determined to sacrifice to it his fidelity to his master: he therefore told Edgar, on his return, that the fortune and quality of Elfrida alone had been the cause of the adulation paid her; and that her charms, so far from being extraordinary, would have been entirely overlooked in a woman of inferior condition. "But," added he, when he found he had blunted the edge of the king's curiosity, "though she "has nothing to claim the attention of a sovereign, "her immense wealth would, to a subject, be a suf-"cient compensation for the homeliness of her per-"son; and, although it could never produce on me "the illusion of beauty, it might make her a con-"venient wife!"

Edgar, glad of an opportunity of establishing his favourite's fortune, not only gave his approbation to the projected match, but forwarded its success by recommending him in the warmest manner to the earl of Devonshire; so that Athelwold was soon made happy in the possession of his beloved Elfrida. Dreading, however, the eyes of the king, he still found some pretence for detaining his wife in the country. But all his precautions were insufficient to conceal his amorous treachery. Royal favourites are never without enemies: Edgar was soon informed of the truth; but before he would execute vengeance on Athelwold's perfidy, he resolved to satisfy himself fully in regard to Elfrida's beauty. He therefore

told his deceiver, That he intended to pay him a viſit at his caſtle, and be introduced to his wife, whoſe beauty he had formerly heard ſo much praiſed. Athelwold was thunderſtruck at the propoſal; but, as he could not refuſe ſuch an honour, he only begged leave to go a few hours before his royal gueſt, that he might make proper preparations for his reception. On his arrival, he fell at his wife's feet; diſcovered the whole ſecret, and conjured her, if ſhe valued either her own honour or his life, to diſguiſe as much as poſſible that fatal beauty which had tempted him to deceive his prince and friend. Elfrida promiſed compliance, though nothing appears to have been farther from her thoughts. She adorned her perſon with the moſt exquiſite art, and called forth all her charms; not deſpairing, it ſhould ſeem, yet to reach that exalted ſtation of which Athelwold's fondneſs had deprived her. The event was anſwerable to her wiſhes: ſhe excited at once in Edgar's boſom the warmeſt love, and the keeneſt deſire of revenge. The king, however, who could diſſemble thoſe paſſions, as well as feel them, beheld her with ſeeming indifference; and having ſeduced Athelwold into a wood, under pretence of hunting, he ſtabbed him with his own hand, took Alfrida to court, and ſoon after publicly married her [17].

THIS reign is remarkable for the extirpation of wolves from England. Edgar took great pleaſure in purſuing thoſe ravenous animals: and when he found they had all taken ſhelter in the mountains and foreſts of Wales, he changed the tribute of money impoſed on the Welch princes by Athelſtan, into an annual tribute of three hundred head of wolves [18]; a policy which occaſioned ſo much diligence in hunting them, that the breed ſoon became extinct in the iſland.

17. Gul. Malmeſ. Hoveden, Brompton, ubi ſup.
18. Gul. Malmeſ. lib. ii.

PART I. A. D. 975. EDGAR was ſucceeded by his ſon Edward, commonly called the Martyr, whom he had by his firſt wife, the daughter of earl Ordmer.

THE ſucceſſion of Edward did not take place without much oppoſition. Elfrida, his ſtep-mother, had a ſon named Ethelred, only ſeven years old, whom ſhe attempted to raiſe to the throne. But the principal nobility, dreading her imperious temper, oppoſed a meaſure which muſt increaſe her authority, if not put her in poſſeſſion of the regency; and Dunſtan, to whom it was of great importance to have a king favourable to his cauſe, reſolutely crowned and anointed Edward, over whom he had already gained an abſolute aſcendant. His ſhort reign was remarkable for nothing but a continual ſtruggle between the monks and the ſecular clergy. He was treacherouſly murdered at the inſtigation of Elfrida, in order to make room for her ſon Ethelred. A. D. 978.

SOON after the acceſſion of Ethelred, a prince without courage or capacity, England was viſited anew by the Danes. The wiſe regulations of Alfred, and the valour of his immediate ſucceſſors had long deterred thoſe ravagers from approaching the Britiſh ſhores; and their ſettlement in France had required, for a time, moſt of their ſuperfluous hands. But a new race of men having now ſprung up in the northern regions, who could no longer diſburden themſelves on Normandy, and England being no longer governed by an Elfred or an Edgar, they ventured to renew their depredations. Ethelred, inſtead of rouſing his people to defend with courage their prince and their property, meanly compounded with the enemy for his ſafety, by bribing them to depart the kingdom[19]. A. D. 991.

19. Id. ibid.

LETTER XVII.

THAT ſhameful expedient, which invited aſſailants inſtead of repelling them, was attended with the ſucceſs that might have been expected; the Danes again returned, and were again bribed to depart. In the mean time Ethelred, from a policy incident to weak princes, embraced the cruel reſolution of maſſacring the Danes throughout all his dominions. Secret orders were accordingly given to commence the execution on the ſame day, and all the Danes were deſtroyed without mercy. Even Gunilda, ſiſter to the king of Denmark, who had married earl Paling, and embraced Chriſtianity, was ſeized and put to death by Ethelred, after having ſeen her huſband and children butchered before her face [20]. A. D. 1002.

THIS unhappy princeſs foretold, in the agonies of deſpair, that her murder would ſoon be revenged by the total ruin of the Engliſh nation. Never was prophecy better fulfilled, nor ever did barbarous policy prove more fatal to its projectors. Sweyn, king of Denmark, breathing vengeance for the ſlaughter of his countrymen, landed ſpeedily in the Weſt of England, and deſolated the whole kingdom with fire and ſword. The Engliſh, ſenſible what they had to expect from a barbarous and enraged enemy, attempted ſeveral times to make a ſtand; but they were ſucceſſively betrayed by Alferic and Edric, governors of Mercia. The baſe and imprudent expedient of money A. D. 1003.

20. Gul. Malmeſ. lib. ii. Hen. Hunt. lib. vi. Contrary to the teſtimony of moſt of our old Engliſh hiſtorians, who repreſent the maſſacre of the Danes as univerſal, Wallingford, (p. 548.) ſays that it affected only a military body in the pay of the king, diſperſed over the country; become inſolent in an uncommon degree, and in ſome meaſure maſters of the kingdom; which, inſtead of protecting, they often ravaged, in conjunction with the foreign Danes. After ſo great an elapſe of time, it is impoſſible to decide upon the matter with certainty; but as the kingdoms of Northumberland and Eaſt Anglia were chiefly peopled with Danes, Walingford's account ſeems moſt probable.

PART I. was again tried, till the nation was entirely drained of its treasure, but without effect. The Danes continued their ravages; and Ethereld, equally afraid of the violence of the enemy and the treachery of his own subjects, fled over to his brother-in-law, Richard duke of Normandy, who received him with a generosity that does honour to his memory [21]. A. D. 1013.

SWEYN died soon after Ethelred left England, and before he had time to establish himself in his newly acquired dominions. Ethelred was recalled; but his misconduct was incurable. On resuming the government, he discovered the same incapacity, indolence, cowardice, and credulity, which had so often exposed him to the insults of his enemies: and the English found in Canute, the son and successor of Sweyn, an enemy no less terrible than his father. An army was assembled against him under the command of Edric and prince Edmond. Edric, whom the infatuated king still trusted, continued his perfidious machinations. After endeavouring in vain to get the prince into his power, he found means to dissipate the army, and then openly revolted to Canute with forty vessels [22]. A. D. 1014. A. D. 1015.

NOTWITHSTANDING this misfortune, Edmond, whose intrepidity never failed him, collected the remaining force of the kingdom, and was soon in a condition to give the enemy battle. But the king had so often experienced the perfidy of his subjects, that he had lost all confidence in them: he therefore refused to take the field; so that the prince's vigorous measures were rendered altogether ineffectual, the army being discouraged by the timidity of their sovereign. As the North had already submitted to Canute's

21. Hen. Hunting. lib. vi.

22. Gul. Malmesf. lib. ii.

power,

power, Edmond retired to London, determined there to maintain the ſmall remains of Engliſh liberty. In the mean time his father died, after an inglorious reign of thirty-five years.

LETTER XVII.

A. D. 1016.

ETHELRED left two ſons by his firſt marriage: Edmond, who ſucceeded him, and Edwy, whom Canute afterwards murdered. His two ſons by the ſecond marriage, Alfred and Edward, were conveyed into Normandy by queen Emma, immediately after the death of their father.

EDMOND, who received the name of Ironſide from his hardy valour, poſſeſſed courage and abilities ſufficient to have ſaved his country; not only from ſinking under its preſent calamities, but even to have raiſed it from that abyſs of miſery into which it was already fallen, had the Engliſh, among their other misfortunes, not been infected with treachery and diſloyalty. But theſe rendered his beſt concerted ſchemes abortive, and his nobleſt efforts fruitleſs. The traitor Edric pretended to return to his duty; and, as Edmond had no general in whom he could repoſe more confidence, he gave him a conſiderable command in the army. A battle was ſoon after fought at Aſſington in Eſſex. Edric deſerted to the enemy, in the beginning of the day, and occaſioned the total defeat of the Engliſh army, with a great ſlaughter of the nobility.

THE indefatigable Edmond, however, had ſtill reſources. He aſſembled a new army at Glouceſter, and was again in a condition to diſpute the field; when the Daniſh and Engliſh nobility, equally tired of the ſtruggle, obliged their kings to come to terms. The kingdom was divided between them by treaty. Canute reſerved to himſelf the northern diviſion;

Mercia,

PART I.

Mercia, Eaſt-Anglia, and Northumberland, which he had entirely ſubdued: the ſouthern parts were left to Edmond, who ſurvived the treaty only a month.

A.D. 1017. He was murdered at Oxford by two of his chamberlains, accomplices of Edric, whoſe treachery made way for the acceſſion of Canute the Dane to the throne of England [23]; Edwin and Edward, the ſons of Edmond, being yet in their infancy.

LETTER XVIII.

FRANCE *from the* ACCESSION *of* HUGH CAPET, *to the* INVASION *of* ENGLAND *by* WILLIAM *Duke of* NORMANDY.

LETTER XVIII.

A. D. 987.

WHILE England changed its line of ſovereigns, and Germany its form of government, France alſo had changed its reigning family, and was become, like Germany, a government entirely feudal. Each province had its hereditary counts or dukes. He who could only ſeize upon two or three ſmall villages, paid homage to the uſurper of a province; and he who had only a caſtle, held it of the poſſeſſor of a town. The kingdom was a monſtrous aſſemblage of members, without any compact body.

OF the princes, or nobles, who held immediately of the crown, Hugh Capet was not the leaſt powerful. He poſſeſſed the dukedom of France, which extended as far as Touraine: he was alſo count of Paris; and the vaſt domains which he held in Picardy and Champagne, gave him great authority in thoſe provinces. He therefore ſeized the crown on the

23. Gul. Malmeſ. Hen. Hunting. ubi ſup.

death

death of Lewis V. and brought more ſtrength to it than he derived from it; for the royal domain was now reduced to the cities of Laon and Soiſſons, with a few other diſputed territories [1]. LETTER XVIII. A. D. 987.

THE right of ſucceſſion belonged to Charles, duke of Lorrain, uncle to Lewis V. but the condition of vaſſal of the empire appeared to the French nobility a ſufficient reaſon for excluding him, and Hugh Capet ſecured the favour of the clergy by reſigning to them the abbies which had been hereditary in his family. An extreme devotion, real or aſſumed, recommended him to the people; and particularly, his veneration for reliques. Force and addreſs ſeconded his ambition, and the national averſion againſt his rival completed its ſucceſs. He was acknowledged in an aſſembly of the nobles: he was anointed at Rheims; and he farther eſtabliſhed his throne, by aſſociating his ſon Robert in the government of the kingdom, (A. D. 988.) and veſting him with thoſe enſigns of royalty, which he prudently denied himſelf, as what might give umbrage to men who were lately his equals [2].

IN the mean time the duke of Lorrain entered France; made himſelf maſter of Laon by aſſault, and (A. D. 989.) of Rheims, by the treachery of archbiſhop Arnold, his relation. But this unhappy prince was afterwards himſelf betrayed by the biſhop of Laon, and made priſoner for life [3].

A COUNCIL was aſſembled for the trial of Arnold. He was degraded; and Gerbert, a man of learning and genius, who had been tutor to the emperor Otho III. and to the king's ſon, Robert, was elected arch-

1. Glab. *Hiſt. ſui Temp.* 2. Id. ibid.
3. Sigeberti, *Chron.*

biſhop

PART I. bishop of Rheims. But the court of Rome not being consulted in this transaction, the election was declared void: Arnold was re-established, and Gerbert deposed. The first, however, remained in prison till the death of Hugh Capet, who was more afraid of Arnold's intrigues than of the thunder of the Vatican[4]; while the second, having found an asylum in the court of his pupil Otho, became archbishop of Ravenna, and afterwards pope, under the name of Sylvester II.

NOTHING else memorable happened during the reign of Hugh Capet, who conducted all his affairs with great prudence and moderation; and had the singular honour of establishing a new family, and in some measure a new form of government, with few circumstances of violence, and without shedding blood.
A.D. 996. He died in the fifty-seventh year of his age, and the eighth of his reign, and was quietly succeeded by his son Robert; a prince of a less vigorous genius, though not of a less amiable disposition.

THE most remarkable circumstance in the reign of Robert, and the most worthy of our attention, is his excommunication by the pope. This prince had espoused Bertha, his cousin in the fourth degree; a marriage not only lawful according to our present ideas of things, and justified by the practice of all nations, ancient and modern, but necessary to the welfare of the state, she being the sister of Rodolph, king of Burgundy. But the clergy, among their other usurpations, had about this time made a sacrament of marriage, and laid the most essential of civil engagements under spiritual prohibitions, which ex-

4. Id. ibid.

tended even to the ſeventh degree of conſanguinity. The popes politically arrogated to themſelves a ſpecial juriſdiction over this firſt object of ſociety, and that on which all the reſt hang. Gregory V. therefore undertook to diſſolve the marriage between Robert and Bertha, though it had been authoriſed by ſeveral biſhops; and in a council held at Rome, without examining the cauſe, and without hearing the parties, he publiſhed, with the moſt deſpotic authority, an imperious decree, which ordered the king and queen to be ſeparated, under peril of excommunication. And all the biſhops who had countenanced the pretended crime, were ſuſpended from their functions, until ſuch time as they ſhould make ſatisfaction to the Holy See [5].

Robert, however, perſiſted in keeping his wife, and thereby incurred the ſentence of excommunication; which, according to cardinal Peter Damſen, an hiſtorian of thoſe times, had ſuch an effect on the minds of men, that the king was abandoned by all his courtiers, and even by his own domeſtics, two ſervants excepted. And theſe threw to the dogs all the victuals which their maſter left at meals, and purified, by fire, the veſſels in which he had been ſerved: ſo fearful were they of what had been touched by an excommunicated perſon [6]! The ſame credulous author adds, that the queen was brought to-bed of a

5. Glab. *Hiſt. ſui Temp.*

6. Let us not however, with certain ſarcaſtical hiſtorians, repreſent this mode of inſpiring religious terrors as an invention of the Chriſtian prieſthood. For Cæſar tells us that, among the ancient Gauls, if any one, whether magiſtrate or private perſon, refuſed to ſubmit to the *ſentence* of the Druids, he was *interdicted* the *ſacrifices*; and that, while under ſuch *prohibition*, all men *ſhunned* him, leſt they ſhould *ſuffer* by the *contagion* of his *impiety*. (Cæſar, *Bell. Gal.* lib. vi.) The power of EXCOMMUNICATION, or the authority of *excluding* the *vicious* and *refractory* from *religious privileges*, is neceſſary indeed to every body of prieſts. But it ought to extend no farther; to *affect* no *legal right*, nor any *civil privilege*.

monſter,

PART I. monſter, which had a neck and head like a gooſe; a certain proof and puniſhment of inceſt!—But, as Voltaire very juſtly obſerves, there was nothing monſtrous in all this affair, but the inſolence of the pope, and the weakneſs of the king; who giving way to ſuperſtitious terrors, or afraid of civil commotions, at laſt repudiated his wife Bertha, and married Conſtance, daughter to the count of Arles, in whom he found an imperious termagant, inſtead of an amiable conſort. Gregory alſo obliged him to reſtore the traitor Arnold to the ſee of Rheims [7].

In the mean time Robert had it in his power to have been maſter of the popes, if he had poſſeſſed the ambition and the vigour neceſſary for ſuch an enterprize. After the death of Henry II. the laſt empe-
A. D. 1024. ror of the houſe of Saxony, the Italians, ſick of the German dominion, offered their crown, and the imperial dignity, to the king of France. Robert, however, had the reſolution to refuſe it: and not only his own ſubjects, but Europe in general was ſoon convinced that he had acted wiſely; for thoſe who made the propoſal, afterwards deſerted the perſon who accepted it [8].

The latter years of Robert's reign were rendered very unhappy by the diſorders of his family. Unfortunate in the death of his eldeſt ſon Hugh, whom he had aſſociated in the ſovereignty, his queen Conſtance, whoſe haughtineſs was altogether inſupportable, attempted to regulate the ſucceſſion. Having an averſion againſt her ſon Henry, ſhe wanted to place her younger ſon Robert on the throne. But the king, by the advice of his parliament, confirmed the ſucceſſion to Henry, his eldeſt ſurviving ſon. Provok-

7. Amon. *Hiſt.* lib. v.

8. Id. ibid.

ed

LETTER XVIII.

ed at this meafure, the queen wanted to embroil the brothers; but they, being united by a fincere friendfhip, withftood all her irritations. At length, become equally the objects of her hatred, they retired from court, and took arms in order to obtain a feparate eftablifhment. In the mean time the king died, and was fucceeded by his fon Henry. A.D. 1031.

There is not any monarch in the French hiftory more generally, or more highly commended than Robert, notwithftanding his weaknefs of temper, or on whofe death the lamentations of all ranks of people were louder or more fincere. The monks fpoke the fenfe of the whole nation, when they deplored him in thefe words: "We have loft a father, who governed "us in peace. We lived under him in fecurity; for "he did not opprefs, or fuffer oppreffion: we loved "him, and there was nobody whom he feared [10]."

Henry I. was twenty-feven years of age at his acceffion to the throne, and with all the fpirit of a young man, he had the fagacity and prudence of one more advanced in years; without which, the crown would have been fhaken from his head, almoft as foon as it was placed there. His mother Conftance, who hated him, as has been obferved, and who was ambitious ftill to govern, had drawn over to her party a number of lords and bifhops, under pretence of fupporting the caufe of her younger fon Robert. Henry, therefore after fome ineffectual ftruggles, was obliged to take refuge in Normandy, where he was received with all poffible refpect by duke Robert; who affured him, that the treafures and forces of the duchy were at his difpofal. Nor were thefe mere expreffions of civility: an army of Normans entered

9. Glab. *Hift. fui Temp.* 10. Helgaldus. Glab. ubi fup.

France

PART I. A.D. 1031. France on one ſide, while the king and the royal party invaded it on the other. The queen dowager and her faction were humbled, and Henry recovered all that he had loſt. But although this conteſt ended glorioully for the king, it proved hurtful to the monarchy; for as the ſucceſs of the war was principally owing to the duke of Normandy, Henry added to his duchy Giſors, Chaumont, Pontoiſe, and that part of the Vexin which yet remained to the crown[11].

THE next affair of importance that occupied the king's attention was the ſucceſſion to the duchy of Normandy. Duke Robert had thought fit, in compliance with the faſhionable devotion of thoſe times, to make a pilgrimage to Jeruſalem. But before his departure, as he was a prudent prince, though now old and ſuperſtitious, he aſſembled his nobles; and, informing them of his pious purpoſe, the length of the journey, and the dangers to which he muſt be expoſed, he engaged them to ſwear allegiance to his natural ſon William, whom he tenderly loved, and intended for his ſucceſſor, as he had no legitimate iſſue. He alſo recommended the guardianſhip of this ſon, who was only nine years of age, to two perſons in whom he placed the greateſt confidence; Henry I. king of France, and Alain duke of Bretagne[12]. But theſe precautions did not prevent many diſorders, which a mind not hoodwinked by ſuperſtition muſt have foreſeen; ariſing from the habitual turbulency of the great, the illegitimacy of William, and the claims from other branches of the ducal family.

A.D. 1035. ROBERT died, as he had apprehended, in his pilgrimage; and left his ſon rather the heir of his wiſhes

11. Gul. Gemet. lib. vi. 12. Id. ibid.

than

LETTER XVIII.

than of his dominions. The licentious nobles, freed from the awe of sovereign authority, broke out into personal quarrels, and made the whole duchy a scene of war and devastation. Alain duke of Bretagne came to appease their animosities; but being very roughly treated, he returned home, and was soon after carried off by slow poison, supposed to have been given him in Normandy. Various pretenders arose to the succession; and the king of France, forgetting what he owed to Robert, seemed willing to deprive his infant son of his inheritance, by taking advantage of these troubles. He accordingly invaded the Norman frontier, and reduced several places; but not finding the conquest so easy as he expected, or influenced by the returning sentiments of friendship and generosity, he united his forces with those of the young duke, and the malcontents were totally routed in the battle of Val de Dunes, which gave William quiet possession of his dominions [13]. A. D. 1046.

Henry I. died in 1060, and was succeeded by his son Philip, whom he had by his second wife, and the first with whom he cohabited, the daughter of Joradislas, duke of Russia; a circumstance truly remarkable, in an age when the intercourse between nations was so little familiar. But the prohibitions of marriage were so multiplied, and the example of his father so alarming, that Robert is supposed to have sought a wife in this remote country, in order to avoid the crime of incest, and the danger of excommunication. What must the disorders of society have been, when even a king did not know whom he might lawfully marry!

Philip I. was only eight years of age at the time of his accession: and, what is very singular, instead A. D. 1060.

13. Gul. Gemet. ubi sup.

PART I. A. D. 1060. of being put under the guardianſhip of his mother or his uncle, one of whom it might naturally be ſuppoſed would have been called to the regency, he was committed by his father to the care of Baldwin V. ſurnamed the Pious, earl of Flanders; a man of ſtrict honour, and brother-in-law to Henry. Baldwin gave his pupil an education ſuitable to his rank: he kept the nobility in awe, without giving them juſt cauſe of offence; and he maintained peace, by being always prepared for war. Hiſtory, in a word, ſcarce furniſhes us with an inſtance of a minority more quiet, and of none more happy; an example the more remarkable, as the times and circumſtances of it were both delicate.

THE only colour that Baldwin gave for cenſure, was in his conduct towards William duke of Normandy, who was preparing to invade England, and whom he permitted to raiſe forces in France and Flanders; a liberty which, from the event, was judged impolitic. But the duke being his ſon-in-law, he could not refuſe him with a good grace: and there was yet a farther motive for compliance. The fortunate and enterpriſing William might have entered France with that army which he had aſſembled againſt England, where he ſucceeded more ſpeedily, and with more eaſe than could poſſibly have been expected. But the particulars of that invaſion, and its conſequences, belong to the hiſtory of our own country. I ſhall therefore only here obſerve, that to balance in ſome meaſure the increaſe of William's power, an offenſive and defenſive alliance was concluded between the crowns of France and Scotland.
A. D. 1067. Soon after that negociation Baldwin died, and left his pupil Philip I. in peaceable poſſeſſion of his kingdom, when he had attained his fifteenth year [14].

14. Gul. Malmeſ. lib. ii.

LET-

LETTER XIX.

ENGLAND *from the* DANISH *to the* NORMAN *Conquest*.

YOU have already, my dear Philip, ſeen Edmond Ironſide inhumanly murdered, and England expoſed to the ambition of Canute the Dane; a prince both active and brave, and at the head of a numerous army, ready to take advantage of the minority of Edwin and Edward, the ſons of Edmond. The Engliſh could therefore expect nothing but total ſubjection from Canute. But the Daniſh monarch, commonly ſo little ſcrupulous, ſhewed, on this occaſion, an anxiety to conceal his injuſtice under plauſible pretences. Before he ſeized the inheritance of the two young princes, he ſummoned a general aſſembly of the ſtates of England, in order to fix the ſucceſſion; and having ſuborned ſome noblemen to depoſe that, in the treaty of Glouceſter, it was agreed, "That Canute, in caſe of Edmond's de-"ceaſe, ſhould ſucceed to the whole kingdom," the ſtates, convinced by this evidence, or over-awed by his victorious arms, immediately put the Dane in full poſſeſſion of the government [1].

LETTER XIX. A.D. 1017.

BUT although Canute had now attained the great object of his ambition in the undivided ſovereignty of England, he was at firſt obliged to make many ſacrifices to it; and to gratify the chief nobility, by beſtowing on them extenſive governments and juriſdictions. He alſo thought himſelf obliged, from political motives, to exerciſe ſome ſeverities. In order to reward his Daniſh followers, he loaded the people

1. Gul. Malmeſ. lib. ii. R. Hoveden, *Annal.* pars prior.

PART I. A. D. 1017.

with oppreſſive taxes; and jealous of the two young princes, but ſenſible that he ſhould render himſelf deteſted if he ordered them to be murdered in England, he ſent them to his ally the king of Sweden, whom he deſired to get them privately diſpatched, as ſoon as they arrived at his court. But the Swediſh monarch was too generous to comply with ſuch a barbarous requeſt. Afraid, however, to draw on himſelf the diſpleaſure of Canute, by protecting the Engliſh princes, he ſent them to be educated in the court of Solomon, king of Hungary: a ſtrange place ſurely to ſeek for a preceptor. But the defenceleſs ſeek only a protector: and the ſons of Edmond found one in Solomon. Edwin, the eldeſt, was married to that monarch's ſiſter; but he dying without iſſue, Solomon gave his ſiſter-in-law, Agatha, daughter of the emperor Henry II. in marriage to Edward, the younger brother: and ſhe bore him Edgar Atheling, whom I ſhall have occaſion to mention; Margaret, afterwards queen of Scotland; and Chriſtina, who retired into a convent [2].

The removal of Edmond's children into ſo diſtant a country as Hungary, was regarded by Canute, next to their death, as the greateſt ſecurity of his government. But he was ſtill under alarm on account of Alfred and Edward, the ſons of Ethelred, who were protected and ſupported by their uncle, Richard duke of Normandy. Richard had even fitted out a fleet, on purpoſe to reſtore the Engliſh princes to the throne of their anceſtors. In order, therefore, to break the ſtorm, and to ſecure himſelf on that ſide, Canute paid his addreſſes to queen Emma, the duke's ſiſter, and the mother of thoſe princes who diſputed his ſway. He was liſtened to: Richard ſent over Emma to

2. Id. ibid.

England;

England; where ſhe was ſoon after married to Canute, the enemy of her former huſband's family, and the conqueror of that country which her children had a right to rule. But Canute promiſed that her children ſhould ſtill rule it, though not the children of Ethelred; and, although the Engliſh diſapproved of the match, they were pleaſed to find at court a ſovereign to whom they were accuſtomed: ſo that the conqueror, by this marriage, not only ſecured the alliance of Normandy, but acquired the confidence of his new ſubjects. Having thus freed himſelf from the danger of a revolution, Canute determined, like a truly wiſe prince, by the equity of his adminiſtration, to reconcile the Engliſh yet farther to the Daniſh yoke. He ſent back to their own country as many of his followers as could ſafely be ſpared: he reſtored the Saxon cuſtoms; he made no diſtinction between the Danes and Engliſh in the diſtribution of juſtice; and he took care, by a ſtrict execution of law, to protect the lives and properties of all his ſubjects [3]. The Danes were gradually incorporated with the native Engliſh; and both were glad to breathe a little from thoſe multiplied calamities, which the conquerors, no leſs than the conquered, had experienced in their ſtruggle for dominion. A.D. 1017.

THE firſt uſe that Canute made of this tranquillity was to viſit Denmark, where he obtained a victory over the Swedes, by the valour of the Engliſh under the command of earl Godwin, on whom he beſtowed his daughter in marriage. In a ſecond voyage to Denmark, he made himſelf maſter of Norway, and expelled the good Olaus from his kingdom. Canute ſeems now to have attained the height of his ambition; for, from this period, he appears not only (A.D. 1019. / A.D. 1028.)

3. Gul. Malmeſ. lib. ii.

PART. I.

to have laid aside all thoughts of future conquests, but to have held in contempt all the glories and pleasures of the world: a necessary consequence, my dear Philip, of assigning to human enjoyments a satisfaction which they cannot yield, and more especially of pursuing them (another effect of the same cause) at the expence of justice and humanity.

During this change of mind it must have been that Canute, the greatest and most powerful prince of his time, being sovereign of Denmark, Norway, and England, put to the blush his flattering courtiers, who exclaimed in admiration of his grandeur, that every thing was *possible* for him. He ordered a chair to be brought, and seated himself on the sea-shore, while the tide was rising; and as the waves approached, he said, in an imperious tone, "Thou sea! art under "my dominion, and the land which I sit upon is "mine: I charge thee, approach no farther! nor "dare to wet the feet of thy sovereign." He even sat some time in seeming expectation of submission: but as the sea still advanced towards him, and at last began to wash him with its billows, he turned to his courtiers, and observed, that every creature in the universe is feeble and impotent; and that power resides only with ONE Being, in whose hands are the elements of nature, and who can say to the ocean, "Thus far shalt thou go, and no farther [4]!"

But although Canute, sick of worldly greatness, began to turn his eyes towards a future state of existence, the spirit of which prevailed in that age unfortunately gave a wrong direction to his piety. Instead of making reparation to the persons whom he had injured by former acts of violence, he built

4. *Anglia Sacra*, vol. i.

churches, endowed monasteries, and appointed prayers to be said for the souls of those who had fallen in battle against him; nay, more meritorious than all the rest! he undertook a pilgrimage to Rome. LETTER XIX.

After his return from Rome, Canute performed nothing memorable, except an expedition against Malcolm king of Scotland, whom he humbled. He died in 1035, and left the crown of England to his son Harold Harefoot, by his first wife, Alfwen, daughter to the earl of Hampshire, in prejudice of Hardicanute, his son by queen Emma, to whom he had promised the succession [5]. A.D. 1035.

Harold reigned only four years. He was succeeded by his brother Hardicanute, whose reign was yet shorter. Neither of these princes had any qualities that merit your attention, nor did any thing memorable happen during their reigns. It will therefore be sufficient to observe, that on the death of Hardicanute, who fell a sacrifice to his brutal intemperance, the English shook off the Danish yoke, and recalled from Normandy Edward, son of Ethelred and Emma, surnamed the Confessor, to the throne of his ancestors. A.D. 1039. A.D. 1041.

This revolution was effected without bloodshed: and the mild and equitable government of Edward soon reconciled the Danes, no less than the English to his sway. The distinction between the two nations vanished. But the English in vain flattered themselves, that they were for ever delivered from foreign masters. A little time convinced them, that the evil was rather suspended than removed.

5. *Chron. Sax.* H. Hunting. R. Hoveden.

PART I.

Edward had been educated in Normandy; and having contracted many intimacies with the natives of that country, as well as an affection for their manners, the court of England was soon filled with Normans, who were distinguished by the royal favour, and had great influence in the national councils. He had also it appears, though married to a beautiful woman, made an indiscreet vow of virginity, which rendered his bed sterile, but obtained to him from the monks the title of Saint and Confessor: and he had given his kinsman, William duke of Normandy, hopes of succeeding to the English crown. What use that enterprising prince made of this promise, real or pretended, we shall afterward have occasion to see.

In the mean time the English, and particularly earl Godwin, the most powerful nobleman in the kingdom, and who had hopes of exalting his own son to the throne, became jealous of the preference shewn to foreigners, and openly revolted. The rebels were reduced: the estates of Godwin and his son were confiscated; and they were obliged to flee the

A.D. 1053. realm. But they soon after returned, and reduced the king to conditions; the most considerable of which was, that all foreigners should be banished the kingdom [6].

Godwin's death, which happened shortly after this treaty, prevented him from establishing that authority which he had acquired at the expence of the crown. But his son Harold, who succeeded him in his estates and offices, and who, with an ambition equal to his father's, was superior to him in address and insinuation, proved no less dangerous to the un-

6. R. Hoveden. Sim. Dunelm.

suspecting

A.D. 1055.

suspecting and unwarlike Edward, whose confidence he had obtained. And the death of Siward, duke of Northumberland, while it enfeebled the royal authority, gave still more consequence to the ambitious Harold. Siward, beside his loyalty, and exploits in behalf of the crown, had acquired honour to England, by his successful conduct in the only foreign enterprise undertaken during this reign: and as it is connected with a memorable circumstance in the history of a neighbouring kingdom, as well as with the intrigues of Harold, it doubly deserves our attention.

DUNCAN, king of Scotland, a prince of a gentle disposition, and some talents, but not possessed of sufficient vigour to govern a turbulent nation distracted by the animosities of the great, had laid himself open to the designs of Macbeth, a powerful nobleman, nearly allied to the crown; and who, not contented with curbing the king's authority, carried yet farther his traiterous ambition. He murdered his sovereign; usurped the crown; and chased Malcolm Kenmure, the prince and heir, into England. Siward, whose daughter was married to Duncan, undertook, by Edward's orders, the protection of this unhappy family. He marched an army into Scotland, defeated and killed Macbeth in battle, and restored Malcolm to the throne of his ancestors. This service, added to his former connections with the royal family of Scotland, brought great accession to the authority of Siward in the North, and enabled him to be highly useful to Edward, in restraining the ambition of Godwin and his powerful family; but as he had lost his eldest son Osbern, in the action with Macbeth, it proved eventually fatal to his house, and hurtful to the crown. The duke's second son, Waltheof, appeared too young, on his father's death to be

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be entrusted with the government of Northumberland: and Harold's influence obtained that dukedom for Tosti his own brother[7].

These are two anecdotes related of Siward, which strongly mark his character, and are eminently expressive of that enthusiasm of valour, long so predominant in the house of Northumberland. When informed of his son Osbern's death, he was at first inconsolable. But inquiring how he fell, and being told that he behaved with great gallantry, and that his wound was in the *breast*, the feelings of the father seemed lost in those of the soldier: his grief was transformed into joy. "Would to God," exclaimed he, "that I had as many sons as I have hairs, that I "might lose them thus!" And when he found his own death approaching, he ordered himself to be clothed in a suit of complete armour; and sitting erect on a couch, with a spear in his hand, "In this posture," said he, "the only one worthy of a warrior, I will "meet the tyrant: if I cannot conquer, I shall at "least *face* the combat[8]."

Tosti behaved so tyrannically in his government of Northumberland, that the people rose again him, and expelled him by force of arms; a circumstance which contributed much to his brother's aggrandizement. Harold was appointed by the king to punish the Northumbrians, and advanced with an army for that purpose; but being met by a deputation from Morcar, who had been elected duke, and finding that Tosti had acted in a manner unworthy of his station, he returned to the king, and generously persuaded him not only to pardon the rebels, but even

7. Gul. Malmes. lib ii. Buchanan, lib. vii.
8. H. Hunting. lib. vi.

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to confirm Morcar in the dukedom. He afterward married the ſiſter of that nobleman, and got her younger brother, Edwin, elected into the government of Mercia. He alſo undertook an expedition againſt the Welſh, whom he obliged to receive Engliſh governors [9].

By theſe political and fortunate ſteps, Harold ſoon found himſelf in a condition openly to aſpire at the ſucceſſion to the crown. He had gained the affections of his countrymen by his lenity to the Northumbrians: he had raiſed their admiration of his valour, by his conqueſt of Wales; and ſo great was his influence, that he laid almoſt all England under the command of himſelf or his friends. His competitors for the ſucceſſion were Edgar Atheling, the ſole ſurviving heir to the crown, who had been recalled from Hungary, and William duke of Normandy, the king's couſin. But the firſt was a youth, whoſe imbecility was thought ſufficient to ſet aſide his claim, and the ſecond a foreigner. Edward's prepoſſeſſions hindered him from ſupporting the pretenſions of Harold, and his irreſolution from ſecuring the crown to the duke of Normandy, whom he ſecretly favoured: he therefore died without appointing a ſucceſſor, being worn out with age and infirmities, and more anxious about obtaining a heavenly, than ſettling his earthly inheritance. A. D. 1066.

EDWARD the Confeſſor was the firſt who *touched* for the ſcrophula, hence denominated the King's Evil. The opinion of his ſanctity procured belief, among the ſuperſtitious vulgar, to this mode of cure: and his ſucceſſors regarded it as a part of their royalty to ſupport the ſame idea. The practice was firſt dropt by the princes of the houſe of Brunſwic; who wiſely

9. Orderic. Vital.

conſidered,

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considered, that such a pretension must be attended with ridicule in the eyes of all men of cultivated minds, and even become the scorn of an enlightened populace. Posterity are more indebted to this prince for the body of laws which he compiled, and which, on account of their mildness, were long dear to our ancestors.

THOUGH Edward left the succession undecided, it did not long continue so. Harold immediately stepped into the vacant throne; and so well had he taken his measures, that his accession was attended with as little opposition or disturbance, as if he had succeeded by the most indisputable hereditary title. The right of Edgar Atheling was scarce ever mentioned, and still less the claim of the duke of Normandy: the whole nation seemed joyfully to swear allegiance to the new king[10].

THE first danger that Harold experienced was from abroad, and from his own brother. Tosti, when expelled the government of Northumberland, had submitted to a voluntary banishment in Flanders: but no sooner was he informed of the accession of Harold, to whose fortunate ambition he considered himself to have fallen a sacrifice, then he entered into a league with Halfager king of Norway, who invaded England with a fleet of three hundred sail. Tosti himself had collected about sixty vessels in the ports of Flanders, with which he put to sea; and after committing some depredations on the south and east coasts of England, he sailed to Northumberland, where he was joined by Halfager and his powerful armament. The combined fleets disembarked their

10. Gul. Pict. Order. Vital.

troops

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troops at the mouth of the Humber; and the earls of Northumberland and Mercia were defeated in attempting to oppose the invaders.

HAROLD was no sooner informed of this disaster, than he hastened to the North; anxious for the safety of his people, and ambitious to shew himself worthy of that crown which had been conferred upon him by his countrymen. The English flocked from all quarters to his standard: so that he found himself in a condition to give battle to his enemies, as soon as he reached them. The two armies engaged at Standford. The action which, was long and bloody, ultimately terminated in the total rout of the Danes, and in the death of Tosti and Halfager. Harold, however, had scarce time to rejoice on account of this victory, before he received intelligence, that the duke of Normandy, having landed with a formidable force in the South of England, determined to dispute with him the crown.

THE Norman prince (whom I have already had occasion to mention, both in the history of France and of England) founded his claim to the English crown on a pretended will of Edward the Confessor in his favour. This claim he fortified with an oath extorted from Harold when shipwrecked on the coast of France, that he would never aspire to the succession, and by which he bound himself to support the pretensions of William. The will Harold knew to be void of foundation, and the oath he entirely disregarded, as it had not only been drawn from him by the fear of violence, but was in itself unlawful; unless William had not only been appointed successor by the king, but chosen by the people, the English crown not being at the disposal of the sovereign. He therefore replied to the Norman ambassadors, who summoned him to resign the kingdom, that he was determined

PART I. A.D. 1066. determined ſtrenuouſly to maintain thoſe national liberties with which he had been intruſted, and that the ſame moment ſhould put a period to his life and his ſway [11].

THIS anſwer was no other than what William expected. He knew the valour of Harold, and the power of the Engliſh nation; but he conſulted only his ambition, and his courage. The boldneſs of the enterpriſe he thought would aſtoniſh the enemy, and inſpire his ſoldiers with reſolution from deſpair, as well as from a deſire of ſupporting the reputation of their countrymen; who had about this time revived their ancient fame, as we ſhall afterward have occaſion to ſee, by the moſt hazardous exploits, and the moſt wonderful ſucceſſes, in the other extremity of Europe.

NOR were theſe the only foundation of William's hopes. A military ſpirit had univerſally diffuſed itſelf over Europe; and the feudal nobles, whoſe minds were elated by their princely ſituation, greedily embraced the moſt hazardous enterprizes, how little ſoever they might be intereſted in the failure or ſucceſs. Hence their paſſion for chivalry, and their ambition to outſhine each other in exertions of ſtrength or prowe*ſ*s. William had long been diſtinguiſhed among thoſe haughty chieftains by his power, his courage, and his addreſs in all military exerciſes; and every one ambitious of acquiring renown in arms, repaired to the court of Normandy, where they were entertained with that hoſpitality and courteſy which diſtinguiſhed the age. The fame of the intended invaſion of England had been every where diffuſed: the more perilous the attempt appeared, the more it ſuited the genius of the times: multitudes of adventurers there-

11. Gul. Malmeſ. lib. iii. Higden. Matth. Weſt.

fore

fore crowded to tender their ſervice to William, impatient to acquire fame under ſo renowned a leader, or to ſupport, by new acts of valour, that reputation which they had already earned[12]; ſo that the duke's army conſiſted of the flower of all the warriors of the continent, determined to die or to conquer.

The continental monarchs could ſurely have obſtructed thoſe ſupplies. But Philip I. of France, whoſe intereſt moſt it was, being a minor, Baldwin, earl of Flanders, William's father-in-law, who then held the reins of government, favoured the duke's levies (as I have had occaſion to obſerve) both in France and Flanders; and the emperor Henry IV. Beſides giving all his vaſſals leave to embark in this expedition, which ſo much engaged the attention of Europe, promiſed his protection to the duchy of Normandy during the abſence of the duke, and thereby enabled him to draw his whole ſtrength to the attack of England.

But Willam's moſt important ally was pope Alexander II. who had a mighty influence over the warriors of that age; and who, beſides being flattered by an appeal which William had made to the court of Rome in favour of his undertaking, at a time when this pontiff wanted to be the arbiter of princes, foreſaw that if the French and Norman barons were ſucceſsful in their enterprize, they would import into England, which ſtill maintained ſome degree of independence in eccleſiaſtical matters, a more devoted reverence to the Holy See. He therefore declared immediately in favour of William's claim: pronounced Harold a perjured uſurper; denounced excommunica-

12. Gul. Pictav.

tion

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tion aginſt him and his adherents; and in order more particularly to encourage the duke, he ſent him a conſecrated banner, and a ring with one of St. Peter's hairs in it [14]. Thus, as the ſagacious Hume remarks, all the ambition and violence of this invaſion were covered ſafely over with the broad mantle of religion.

THE Norman fleet, which conſiſted of three hundred veſſels, great and ſmall, and carried an army of ſixty thouſand men, ſelected by William from thoſe numerous ſupplies that courted his ſervice, had been aſſembled early in the ſummer, and put to ſea ſoon after; but being long detained by contrary winds, the troops began to imagine that Heaven had declared againſt them, and that, notwithſtanding the pope's benediction, they were deſtined to deſtruction. The wind, however, fortunately changed on the eve of the feaſt of St. Michael, the tutelar ſaint of Normandy; and the ſoldiers and their bold leaders, who had an equal contempt of real, and a dread of imaginary dangers, fancying they ſaw the hand of Providence in the cauſe of their former terrors, ſet out with the greateſt alacrity, and ſafely arrived at Pevenſey in Suſſex, where the troops quietly diſembarked. The duke himſelf had the misfortune to fall, as he leaped aſhore; a circumſtance which, conſidering the ſuperſtition of the times, might have been conſtrued to his diſadvantage, but which he had the preſence of mind to turn in his favour, by calling aloud, "I have "taken poſſeſſion of England!" and a soldier, running to a neighbouring cottage, plucked ſome thatch, which he preſented to his general, as giving him ſeiſin of the kingdom [15]. The confidence of William

14. Baker, *Chron.*

15. Order. Vital.

and

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and his followers was now ſo great, that when they heard even of Harold's victory over the Danes, inſtead of being diſcouraged they ſeemed only to long, with more impatience, for the arrival of the Engliſh army.

THEY had not long occaſion to wait. Harold was at York when he received intelligence of the Norman invaſion, and haſtened by quick marches to meet his competitor. But on reviewing his forces, he found them much diminiſhed, though he had been reinforced with freſh troops from London and other places. His victory proved his ruin. Many of his braveſt officers, and veteran ſoldiers, fell in the action; ſome retired from fatigue, and others ſecretly withdrew from diſcontent, becauſe he had refuſed to diſtribute the Daniſh ſpoils among them: a conduct little ſuited to his uſual generoſity of temper, and which can only be accounted for from a deſire of eaſing his people in the war that hung over them from Normandy, and which he foreſaw muſt be attended with great expence.

FROM theſe and other circumſtances, Gurth the king's brother, a man of bravery and conduct, began to entertain apprehenſions of the event; and repreſented to the king, That it would be better policy to prolong the war than to riſk a general action, as the winter was approaching, when the enemy would ſuffer many hardſhips, while the Engliſh, better ſheltered, and becoming every day more incenſed againſt their invaders, would haſten from all quarters to his aſſiſtance, and render his army invincible; or, if he thought it neceſſary to hazard a battle, he ought at leaſt not to expoſe his perſon, that ſome reſource might ſtill be left for the liberty and independency of

PART I. A.D. 1066. the kingdom. But Harold, deaf to all these arguments, rejected his brother's advice with disdain; and elated with past prosperity, as well as stimulated by his native courage, replied, That he would give battle in person, and convince his subjects, that he was worthy of the crown which they had set upon his head [16].

WITH this resolution he drew near to the Normans, who had removed their camp to Hastings. He was even so confident of success, that he sent a message to the duke of Normandy, offering him a sum of money, if he would depart the kingdom without effusion of blood; and William, not to be behind him in vaunting, commanded him to resign the crown of England, to submit their cause to the arbitration of the pope, or to fight him in single combat. Harold replied, that the God of battles would soon be the arbiter of all their differences [17].

BOTH armies now impatiently expected the awful decision; but night drawing on, it was deferred till morning. During this interval of darkness and suspense, the scene was very different in the two camps: the English spent the night in riot and feasting; the Normans, in prayer and preparations for battle. As Oct. 15. soon as day began to appear, the duke assembled his principal officers, and made them a speech suitable to the occasion. He next divided his army into three lines. The first consisted of archers and light-armed infantry; the second was composed of his bravest battalions, heavy armed, and ranged in close order. The cavalry, at the head of which William placed himself, formed the third line, and were so disposed, that they stretched beyond the infantry, and flanked each

16. Order. Vital. Gul. Malmesf. lib. iii. 17. Higden.

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wing of the army. He commanded the ſignal to be given; and the whole army, moving at once, and ſinging the celebrated Song of Rowland, the fabulous nephew, but renowned captain of Charlemagne, advanced in order of battle [18].

Harold, whoſe army was inferior to William's, in number as well as in diſcipline, had ſeized the advantage of a riſing ground; and having drawn ſome trenches to ſecure his flanks, ſeemed inclined to act upon the defenſive, and to avoid all encounter with the Norman cavalry, to which his ſtrength in horſe was very unequal. The Kentiſh men were placed in the front, a poſt which they had always claimed as their due: the Londoners guarded the ſtandard; and the king, diſmounting, placed himſelf in the centre, at the head of his infantry, expreſſing his reſolution to conquer or die. The firſt attack of the Norman foot was terrible: their archers ſorely galled their adverſaries; and, as the Engliſh ranks were cloſe, the arrows did great execution. But Harold's army received the ſhock of the enemy undiſmayed; and after a furious ſtruggle, which long remained undecided, the Normans began to give ground. Confuſion was ſpreading from rank to rank; when William, who found himſelf on the brink of ruin, haſtened with a ſelect band to the relief of his broken forces. His preſence reſtored the battle. The Engliſh were obliged to retire in their turn; but the duke finding they ſtill made a vigorous reſiſtance, aided by the advantage of ground, and animated by the example of their valiant prince, ordered his troops to make a haſty retreat, and allure their antagoniſts from their ſtation by the appearance of flight. The artifice ſucceeded. Impelled by the enthuſiaſm of valour and the heat of action, the troops of Harold precipitantly followed

18. Gul. Malmeſ. lib. iii. Du Cang. in *Gloſſ.* Verb. *Cant. Roland.*

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the Normans into the plain; while William instructed his infantry at once to face about on their pursuers, and the cavalry to make an assault upon their wings. The English were thrown into disorder, and driven back with loss to the hill; where being rallied by the generalship of Harold, they were again able to maintain the combat. William tried the same stratagem a second time, and with equal success. Yet he still found a large body of English forces that remained firm around their prince, and seemed determined to dispute the field to the last man; when fortune decided a victory, which valour had left doubtful. Harold, who had fought with unspeakable courage and personal prowess from dawn until eve, was shot into the brains with an arrow, while bravely defending the royal standard at the head of his guards. His two gallant brothers, Gurth and Leofwin, also were slain; and the English army dispirited by the loss of its leaders, gave way on all sides, and was pursued with great slaughter by the victorious Normans [19].

Thus, my dear Philip, was gained by William the Norman, afterwards surnamed the Conqueror, the famous battle of Hastings, which terminated the Anglo-Saxon monarchy in England; and which, by the heroic feats of valour displayed on both sides, by both armies and both commanders, seemed worthy to decide the fate of a mighty kingdom. Fifteen thousand of the Normans fell, and a much greater number of the English forces [20].—But we must take a view of the other nations of Europe, and also throw a glance on those of Asia and Africa, before I consider the consequences of this victory, and the influence of the revolution by which it was followed,

19. Gul. Malmes. ubi sup. Gul. Pict. H. Hunting. R. Hoveden. M. Paris. Order. Vital.

20. Gul. Gemet. chap. xxxvi.

upon

upon the laws, government, and manners of England. In the mean time, however, it will not be improper to take a slight survey of the state of England at the Norman conquest.

POSTSCRIPT.

NO territory of so small an extent has ever so much engaged the attention of mankind, for so long a series of ages, as the island of Britain. From the most remote antiquity it was visited by the Phœnicians and Carthaginians, on account of its tin and other valuable productions. The Romans, in the height of their power, made themselves masters of the southern part of it, at a vast expence of blood and treasure: and they thought the acquisition of sufficient importance, to preserve their footing in this distant and transmarine province for three hundred years, by maintaining in it a great naval and military force. The ancient Britons lost their courage and their independent spirit under the Roman dominion, but received from their enlightened governors, some knowledge of arts and letters [21]. The Saxons, in achieving their sanguinary conquest, destroyed every trace of ingenuity which the Romans had introduced into the island, without bringing along with them one peaceful art, with which the Britons were not better acquainted; and the inveterate wars between the princes of the Heptarchy afterward obstructed, among their people, the usual progress of civilization. But no sooner was England united into one kingdom, under Egbert, than commerce and manufactures began to be cultivated in a country so highly favoured by nature; abounding in the materials of industry, and surround-

21. If the Britons had any knowledge of letters before the arrival of the Romans, that knowledge was confined chiefly if not solely to their priests, the mysterious Druids.

PART I. ed on three ſides by the ſea, which forms on its coaſts many commodious bays and ſafe harbours [22].

THE commerce and navigation of the Anglo-Saxons, however, was cruelly injured by the piracy and predatory invaſions of the Danes: yet did England, under their government, contain many large trading towns, and a greater number of inhabitants, both in the towns and in the country, than could have been expected in ſuch a turbulent and hoſtile period. London, York, Briſtol [23], Exeter, and Norwich were great and populous cities; and as the labours of huſbandry were chiefly performed by ſlaves or villains, who were excluded from military ſervice, "the number of freemen in England, *habituated* to the *uſe* of *arms*, if not greater, muſt have been as great at the Norman invaſion, as in any former or ſubſequent period [24]. But let us not hence conclude, That ſixty thouſand

22. The principal Engliſh exports, during the Anglo-Saxon times, were tin, lead, wool, hides, horſes, and *ſlaves!*—Theſe ſlaves conſiſted not ſolely of ſuch unhappy perſons as the laws of war, or other cauſes had reduced to the condition of perpetual ſervitude. The Anglo-Saxons are accuſed, by cotemporary writers, of making merchandiſe even of their neareſt relations; " a cuſtom," adds a reſpectable hiſtorian, who lived after the Norman conqueſt, " which prevails in Northumberland, even in our own days." Gul. Malmeſ. lib. i.

23. The Briſtol traders were diſtinguiſhed, even in thoſe early ages, by their mercantile ſagacity. " The people of this town," ſays an author of undoubted veracity, " were cured of a moſt odious and inveterate cuſtom by Wulfſtan, (biſhop of Wincheſter at the Norman conqueſt) *of buying men and women in all parts of England, and exporting them for the ſake of gain. The young women they commonly got with child, and carried them to market in their pregnancy, that they might bring a better price!*" *Anglia Sacra*, tom. ii.

24. To that exemption from ruſtic labour, which was friendly to the uſe of arms, may alſo perhaps be aſcribed the diſſolute manners of the Anglo-Saxons. Unleſs when employed in war or hunting, their whole time was ſpent in drinking and feaſting. This licentious life ſeems to have much impaired the native courage of the Engliſh nation, before the Daniſh conqueſt. The wars which introduced and accompanied

thousand men, under an experienced leader, have at all times been sufficient to overturn the constitution of this vigorous kingdom. William was ultimately indebted for his good fortune, less to the rashness of the English monarch, his own conduct, or the valour of his troops, than to the unsettled state of the succession to the crown. Harold had owed his exaltation to the throne, as much to fear as affection; and, on his death, the English nobility, who had borne with impatience the sway of an equal, naturally looked up to his conqueror and competitor, the kinsman of their ancient princes, as their sovereign, their head, and centre of union. The duke of Normandy, at Hastings, had triumphed over their elected king, but not over their liberties. These they imprudently put into his hands (as we shall afterward have occasion to see) in hopes that he would not abuse their generosity, when resistance, and even vengeance was in their power.

panied that conquest, revived their martial spirit; and, under the Danish princes, the Anglo-Saxons appear to have emulated their conquerors in all acts of prowess and valour. But both were alike given to long and excessive drinking, in large societies or clubs: and the Danes added to this convivial intemperance an inordinate passion for women; in which they seem to have gloried, and often gratified in a manner shocking to humanity. Violence, in love, was with them as common as in war. Yet they sometimes made use of other means to accomplish their purpose: they affected gallantry; and, by their attention to dress and cleanliness, are said to have seduced many English wives. That cleanliness, however, by which they were distinguished, consisted only in combing their hair once a day, and washing themselves once a week. Wallingford. ap. Gale, tom. i. Gul. Malmesf. lib. ii. *Anglia Sacra*, tom. ii.

The manners of the Welsh, in this dark period, must have been even less delicate than those of the Anglo-Saxons; for they thought it necessary, we find to make a law, That none of the *courtiers* should *give* the *queen* a *blow*, or *snatch* any thing *violently* out of her *hands*, under *penalty* of *forfeiting Her Majesty's protection*. (Leg. Wallicæ, p. 11.) And if any woman brought an action for a rape, which was denied by the man, she was ordered to take hold of the culprit by the offending part, with her left hand, and to lay the right on the holy reliques; and in that position, to make oath of the violation of her person—*quod is per vim se isto membro vitiaverit*. Ibid. p. 80.

LETTER XX.

SPAIN, *the* ARABS *and the Empire of* CONSTANTINOPLE, *during the ninth, tenth, and Part of the eleventh Century.*

SPAIN.

LETTER XX.
A. D. 768.

THE death of Abdurrhaman, the Moorish king, whom we have seen reign with so much lustre at Cordova, was followed by dissensions among his children, which procured some relief to the Spanish Christians. The little kingdom of the Asturias, or of Leon and Oviedo, as it was aftewards called, founded by Pelagius, increased under Alphonso III. surnamed the Great, on account of his wisdom and valour. Garcias Ximenes, descended from the ancient Spaniards, had also founded, in 758, the kingdom of Navarre, which became one of the most considerable Christian principalities in Spain.

THE Moors, however, still possessed Portugal, Murcia, Andalusia, Valentia, Granada, Tortosa, and the interior part of the country as far as the mountains of Castile and Saragossa; more than three-fourths of Spain, and the most fertile provinces. Among them, as in the other nations of Europe, a crowd of too powerful nobles affected independency, and the sovereign was obliged to contend with his subjects for dominion. This was the time to have crushed the Mahometan power; but the Spanish Christians were not more united than their enemies. Though continually at war with the Moors, they were always destroying each other. The reign of Alphonso the Great was full of conspiracies and revolts: his own wife and his two sons were among the number of the rebels,

rebels. He reſigned his crown to Garcias the eldeſt: he even generouſly fought under his command; and died in 912, with the glory of a hero, and the piety of a ſaint[12]. A. D. 912.

Ramiro II. king of Leon and Oviedo, another Spaniſh hero, gained, in 938, the celebrated victory of Simancas, where the Moors are ſaid to have loſt fourſcore thouſand men. A. D. 938. He had promiſed to St. James, in a pilgrimage to Compoſtella, That, if he was victorious, all his ſubjects ſhould offer annually a certain meaſure of wheat to the church of that ſaint. The church was enriched, and the name of St. James became the alarm to battle among the Spaniards.

Men are chiefly indebted for all their heroic atchievments to their paſſions; hence nothing is ſo irreſiſtible as the valour inſpired by enthuſiaſm, while it laſts. The name of St. James was long terrible to the Moors, and long the companion of victory. Mahomet Almanzor however, the celebrated general, and prime miniſter of Hiſſem king of Cordova, found means, by another artifice, to turn the tide of ſucceſs. Seeing his troops begin to fly, in a battle fought on the banks of the river Ezla, he diſmounted from his horſe; ſat down in the field; threw his turban on the ground; and, laying his arms acroſs his breaſt, declared he would in that poſture meet his fate, ſince he was abandoned by his army. A. D. 995. This ſtratagem had the deſired effect: his troops returned to the charge, and obtained a complete victory. The Moors became ſenſible that they could conquer in ſpite of St. James; and the Chriſtians in their turn, trembled at the name of Almanzor.

12. Ferreras. Mariana.

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That great man, who was no leſs a politician than a warrior, is ſaid to have vanquiſhed the Chriſtian princes in fifty engagements. He took the city of Leon by aſſault; ſacked Compoſtella; pillaged the church of St. James, and carried the gates in triumph, on the ſhoulders of his army, to Cordova. This triumph proved his ruin. A flux breaking out among his troops, the Chriſtians conſidered that diſtemper as a puniſhment inflicted by St. James: the flame of A. D. 998. enthuſiaſm rekindled, and Almanzor was defeated. But what was infinitely more advantageous to the Chriſtians, as well as more fatal to himſelf, he was ſo much aſhamed of his misfortune, that he would neither eat nor drink, and obſtinately periſhed of hunger[2].

About the beginning of the eleventh century, the race of Abdurrhaman being extinct, the kingdom of Cordova was diſmembered, by the ambition of a number of noblemen, who all uſurped the title of king. Toledo, Valentia, Seville, Saragoſſa, and almoſt all the great cities, had their independent ſovereigns. The provinces were changed into kingdoms, which multiplied in the ſame manner among the Chriſtians; who had a king of Leon, of Navarre, of Caſtile, of Arragon: and Sancho, ſurnamed the Great, king of A. D. 1034. Navarre, was ſo imprudent as to ſubdivide his dominions amongſt his four ſons. Perpetual jealouſies, with all the crimes that accompany them, were the conſequence of theſe diviſions of territory; treachery, poiſonings, aſſaſſinations! the common weapons of petty neighbouring and rival princes, who have much ambition and ſmall means of gratifying it. Hence the hiſtory of Spain becomes always leſs important, in proportion to the increaſe of the kingdoms. One

2. Rod. Tolet. de *Reb. Hiſp. Annal Compoſtel.*

circum-

circumſtance, however, merits our attention, both on account of its nature and its ſingularity.

In this dark and oppreſſive period, when the commonalty all over Europe were either degraded to a ſtate of actual ſlavery, or in a condition little more to be envied, the people of Arragon ſhared the government with their ſovereign. The repreſentatives of cities and towns had a place in their Cortes, or national aſſembly. But the Arragonians, not ſatiſfied with this check on the royal prerogative, nor willing to truſt the preſervation of their liberties ſolely to their repreſentatives, elected a Juſtiza, or grand judge, who was the ſupreme interpreter of the laws, and whoſe particular buſineſs it was to reſtrain the encroachments of the crown, and protect the rights of the ſubject. He was choſen from among the cavelleros, or ſecond order in the ſtate, anſwering to our gentlemen commoners, that he might be equally intereſted in curbing the oppreſſive ſpirit of the nobles, and ſetting bounds to the ambition of the prince. His perſon was ſacred, and his juriſdiction almoſt unbounded: his power was exerted in ſuperintending the adminiſtration of government, no leſs than in regulating the courſe of juſtice. He had a right to review all the royal proclamations and patents, and to declare whether they were agreeable to law, and ought to be carried into execution:—and he could, by his ſole authority, exclude any of the king's miniſters from the management of affairs, and call them to anſwer for their conduct while in office. He himſelf was anſwerable to the Cortes alone.

The juſtiza had alſo the ſingular privilege of receiving the coronation oath, in the name of the people; when, holding a naked ſword oppoſite to the king's heart, he repeated theſe remarkable words: "We,

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"We, who are your equals, make you our ſovereign, "and promiſe obedience to your government, on condition that you maintain our rights and liberties; "if not—not!" And it was accordingly an eſtabliſhed maxim in the conſtitution of Arragon, that if the king ſhould violate his engagements, it was lawful for the people to depoſe him, and to elect another in his ſtead[3].

The EMPIRE *of the* ARABS.

FROM the Arabs in Spain, we paſs naturally to thoſe of Aſia, and the neighbouring continent of Africa. The great empire of the Arabs, as well as its branches, had experienced thoſe revolutions, which war and diſcord naturally produce, and which ſooner or later overturn the beſt founded governments. The glory of the califat was obſcured toward the end of the ninth century. Under weak or wicked princes, the African governors ſhook off their allegiance. Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, formed particular ſtates. Religious quarrels augmented thoſe of ambition. The Fattimides, a Mahometan ſect, flamed with all the

A. D. 969. fury of fanaticiſm. They founded an empire in Egypt, from which they expelled the race of Abbas; and Cairo, the capital of that empire, became the ſeat of a new calif, and a flouriſhing city of commerce.

ANOTHER fanatical ſect perſuaded that the abuſes introduced into the religion of Mahomet required reformation, delivered themſelves up to the tranſports of enthuſiaſm, and acquired ſtrength by being perſecuted. They revolted, obtained ſeveral victories, and ſeized the provinces on the weſtern coaſt of Africa, which form the preſent kingdom of Morocco; where their chief, like the other califs, uniting the royalty

3. Zurit. *Annal. de Arag.* Hier. Blanca, *Comment. de Rer. Arag.*

with

with the priesthood, governed his new empire under the name of Miramoulin, or Commander of the Faithful, a title implying his claim to the califat.

OTHER circumstances conspired to dismember the empire of the Arabs. The califs of Bagdat had received into their armies a body of Turks, or Turcomans, a Tartar tribe. These auxiliaries, on account of their valour, were soon employed as the royal guard, and subjected those whom they were hired to protect. They took advantage of the civil wars raised against the califat, to make themselves lords of Asia: they stript the califs, by degrees, of the sovereignty, but permitted them to retain the pontificate, which they revered; prudently submitting themselves to the religion of the country, and kneeling to the priest while they despoiled the king [4].

A VARIETY of sovereigns sprung up under the name of Sultans, who were invested with their dominions by the califs, but took care to leave them very little authority; so that the successors of Mahomet found themselves, towards the middle of the eleventh century, in much the same situation with those of St. Peter under the first German emperors; or with the kings of Europe about the same time, whose power declined in proportion to the increase of their vassals.

The EMPIRE *of* CONSTANTINOPLE.

WHILE the empire of the Arabs was thus overturned, and that of Charlemagne falling to pieces, the empire of Constantinople, to borrow a simile from Voltaire, still stood like a large tree, vigorous though old, stript of its branches, some of its roots, and buf-

4. Leunclav. *Annal.* Turcici. Georg. Elmacin. *Histor. Saracenica.*

feted

PART I. feted on every side by storms and tempests. Though much circumscribed on the eastern frontier, it yet extended over all Greece, Macedonia, Epirus, Thessaly, Thrace, Illyricum: it was contracted indeed, but not dismembered; often changing its emperors, but always united under the person who swayed the sceptre. How unworthy, in general, of the imperial dignity! and what a people had they to govern!

NICEPHORUS, whom we have seen dethrone Irene, was an execrable tyrant. The Saracens robbed him of the isle of Cyprus; and the Bulgarians, the scourge of Thrace, took him prisoner, after having cut off his army, beheaded him, and threw his body to the beasts of the field, while they made a drinking-cup of his skull[5].

A.D. 811.

STAURACUS, the son of Nicephorus, rendered himself so odious in the beginning of his reign, that he was abandoned by his people, and obliged to become a monk.

MICHAEL RANGABUS refused to make peace with the Bulgarians, because a monk declared, that he could not, in conscience, deliver up the deserters. In consequence of this refusal, the Greeks were defeated by the Bulgarians: the emperor betook himself to flight; and the officers, incensed at his behaviour, proclaimed Leo the Armenian.

LEO attempted to assassinate the king of the Bulgarians; who, in revenge, pillaged the suburbs of Constantinople. The emperor could conceive nothing more effectual to save the state than the extirpation of idolatry; that is to say, the abolition of images.

5. Theophan.

He

He accordingly commanded a new perſecution; and eight hundred and twenty perſons were maſſacred in one church.

MICHAEL the Stammerer, the ſucceſſor of Leo, at firſt tolerated the worſhip of images. But he afterwards changed his ſyſtem: he perſecuted thoſe whom he had formerly protected, and would even have had the ſabbath obſerved, and the paſſover celebrated in the manner of the Jews. The Saracens took advantage of his weakneſs to make themſelves maſters of the iſle of Crete, now Candia: they alſo conquered almoſt all Sicily, and ravaged Apulia and Calabria [6]. A. D. 823.

DURING the reign of Theophilus, though more worthy of the imperial throne, the perſecution was redoubled, and the Saracens extended their conqueſts. But after his death, the empreſs Theodora, governing during the minority of Michael III. re-eſtabliſhed the worſhip of images, as Irene had formerly done. Afterward, deſirous to convert the Manicheans by terror, ſhe cauſed them to be deſtroyed in thouſands. Thoſe who eſcaped went over to the Bulgarians, and the empire was obliged to contend with its own ſubjects. Michael confined Theodora in a convent; and delivering himſelf up to all manner of crimes, carried his impiety ſo far, as to ſport with the eccleſiaſtical ceremonies. He was aſſaſſinated by Baſil, whom he had aſſociated in the empire, and imprudently would have depoſed. A. D. 867.

BASIL, originally a beggar, now found himſelf emperor. He is celebrated for his juſtice and huma-

6. Cerden.

nity;

PART I. nity; but he was a dupe to the patriarch, Photius, whom he favoured with his confidence, even after he had exiled him. His reign is the æra of the grand ſchiſm, which for ever divided the Greek and Latin churches.

THIS ſchiſm, which took its riſe from a jealouſy between the primates of the Eaſt and Weſt, was brought to a criſis by the converſion of the Bulgarians. As Bulgaria had formerly belonged to the Eaſtern empire, it was diſputed, whether the new Chriſtians ought to be ſubject to the pope, or to the patriarch of Conſtantinople. A variety of other reaſons was aſſigned for the ſquabble that followed; but this is the true one, and the only one which it is neceſſary

A. D. 879. for you to know. The council of Conſtantinople gave judgment in favour of the patriarch; but the pope's legates proteſted againſt the deciſion. New circumſtances widened the breach. The two primates excommunicated each other; and although the quarrel was ſometimes moderated by the mediation of the emperors, it was never made up. The ſchiſm continued.

THE Saracens took Syracuſe, while Baſil was employed in founding a church; and his ſon Leo compoſed ſermons, while the empire was ravaged on all ſides. Leo, however, is ſtyled the Philoſopher; becauſe he loved learning, and favoured learned men, not from being an Alfred or a Marcus Aurelius.

CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITUS, the ſon and

A. D. 912. ſucceſſor of Leo, merits the eulogies beſtowed on him, as a protector of the ſciences, which he himſelf cultivated with ſucceſs. Men of the firſt rank taught philoſophy, geometry, and rhetoric, at Conſtantinople, during

during his reign, which commenced in 912, and ended in 959. But the affairs of the empire were not conducted better than formerly. LETTER XX. A. D. 959.

THEY were ſtill worſe conducted under Romanus, the ſon of Conſtantine, who poiſoned his father, and was the tyrant of his people.

NICEPHORUS PHOCAS had the honour of vanquiſhing the Saracens, and of recovering from them Crete, Antioch, and other places. His avarice and A. D. 961. tyranny, however, made him deteſted: his own wife joined in a conſpiracy againſt him; and he was murdered in bed.

JOHN ZIMISCES, one of the aſſaſſins, ſeized the A. D. 969. empire, and delivered it from the Roſſi, or Ruſſians, whom he defeated in ſeveral engagements. This brave prince was poiſoned by the eunuch Baſil, his A. D. 975. chamberlain; who, notwithſtanding, preſerved his credit under Baſil II. grandſon of Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus.

BASIL was a warrior, but a barbarous one. Having vanquiſhed the Bulgarians, he cauſed the eyes of five thouſand priſoners to be put out. His ſubjects, loaded with taxes, could not enjoy his triumphs. He fought for himſelf, not for them. His death was followed A. D. 1024. by a train of the blackeſt crimes of which we have any example in hiſtory.

THE princeſs Zoe, daughter of Conſtantine, the brother and colleague of Baſil, had eſpouſed Romanus Argyropulus, who was proclaimed emperor. Zoe A. D. 1028. afterwards became enamoured of Michael Paphlagonotus, a man of low birth. She poiſoned her huſband,

PART I. A. D. 1034. in order to give the throne to her lover; but the poiſon not operating quick enough, ſhe cauſed Argyropulus to be drowned in a bath. The patriarch of Conſtantinople at firſt ſcrupled to marry the empreſs to Michael. But a ſum of money quieted his conſcience, and the imperial crown followed the ſanction of the church.

A. D. 1041. THE emperor Paphlagonotus, a prey to diſeaſes and remorſe, died in the habit of a monk; and Zoe gave the empire and her hand to Michael Calaphates, the ſon of a caulker, or cobler of ſhips, by a ſiſter of the other Michael, hoping that he would be the ſlave of her will. But the new emperor, jealous of his power, put her in confinement. The people revolted: they releaſed the empreſs and her ſider Theodora, and put out the eyes of Calaphates.

A. D. 1042. THE two ſiſters reigned together a year, and employed themſelves only about trifles. The people would have a prince; and Zoe, at laſt, married Conſtantine Monomachus, one of her ancient lovers, who was crowned. This upſtart emperor neglected his wife for a young miſtreſs. The Greeks incenſed at his conduct, ſeized him in a proceſſion, and declared they would only obey two empreſſes. He would have been cut in pieces, if the princeſſes had not interpoſed.

MONOMACHUS augmented the miſeries of the empire by his rapacity. The frontier provinces had been exempted from taxes, on condition that they ſhould defend themſelves againſt the Barbarians. The emperor pretended that he would defend them, and made them pay like the reſt of the empire[7]: but

7. Ibid. See alſo Curpolatus and Leo Grammaticus.

they were poorly defended, notwithstanding the taxes. LETTER XX.

These particulars will be sufficient to enable you to judge of the state of Constantinople. If at any time we find an able and warlike prince there, we always find the same reigning spirit of superstition and rebellion. Isaac Comnenus, one of the best Greek emperors, proclaimed in 1057, made himself hated by the monks, because he applied to the public exigencies the superflux of their wealth. Lamed by a fall from his horse, he gave himself up to devotion; resigned his crown in favour of Constantine Ducas, and took the habit of a monk. A.D. 1059.

Ducas, too much a friend to peace, abandoned the provinces to the ravages of the Turks. He made his three sons emperors, and left the regency to their mother Eudoxia, exacting from her a promise that she would never marry: and this promise he obliged her to confirm in writing. Eudoxia, however, soon resolved to marry Romanus Diogenes, whom she had condemned to die, but whose fine person subdued her heart. Her promise, deposited in the hands of the patriarch, now gave her much uneasiness. In order to recover it, she artfully pretended to have fixed her choice on the patriarch's kinsman. This amorous deceit had the desired effect. The writing was restored; and the empress, absolved from her promise of widowhood, did not fail to take advantage of her release. She immediately married Romanus, and procured him the empire[8]. A.D. 1068.

Could ignorant savages have acted more absurdly? or ruffians amenable to public justice more atrociously?

8. Anna Comnena. Nicetas.

PART I. —Yet the Greeks were ſtill the moſt learned and poliſhed people in Europe; and Conſtantinople, notwithſtanding all its misfortunes, its revolutions, and crimes, having never felt the deſtructive rage of the Barbarians, continued to be the largeſt and moſt beautiful European city, after the fall of Rome, and the only one where any image of ancient manners or ingenuity remained.

THUS, my dear Philip, we rapidly traverſe the wilds of hiſtory; where the objects are often confuſed, rude, and unintereſting. But it is neceſſary to travel theſe firſt ſtages, in order to arrive at more cultivated fields. We ſhall ſoon meet with a new ſet of objects equally intereſting and important: and then more leiſure and attention will be required. In the mean time we muſt take a review of paſt ages.

LETTER XXI.

Progreſs of Society in EUROPE, *from the Settlement of the Modern Nations, to the Middle of the Eleventh Century.*

LETTER XXI. I HAVE already given you in a particular Letter, an account of the Syſtem of Policy and Legiſlation eſtabliſhed by the Barbarians, or northern invaders, on their firſt ſettlement in the provinces of the Roman empire[1]: and I have endeavoured, in the courſe of my general narration, to mark the progreſs of ſociety, as it regards religion, laws, government, manners, and literature. But as the hiſtory of the human mind is of infinitely more importance than the detail of events, this Letter, my dear Philip, ſhall be entirely devoted to ſuch circumſtances as tend more par-

1. Letter II.

ticularly

ticularly to throw light upon that ſubject. I ſhall alſo purſue the ſame method, at different intervals, during the ſubſequent part of your hiſtorical ſtudies.

THOUGH the northern invaders wanted taſte to value the Roman arts, laws, or literature, they generally embraced the religion of the conquered people. And the mild and benevolent ſpirit of Chriſtianity would doubtleſs have ſoftened their ſavage manners, had not their minds been already infected by a barbarous ſuperſtition; which mingling itſelf with the Chriſtian principles and ceremonies, produced that abſurd mixture of violence, devotion, and folly, which has ſo long diſgraced the Romiſh church, and which formed the character of the middle ages. The clergy were gainers, but Chriſtianity was a loſer, by the converſion of the Barbarians. They rather changed the object than the ſpirit of their religion.

THE Druids among the Gauls and Britons, the Prieſts among the ancient Germans, and among all the nations of Scandinavia, poſſeſſed an abſolute dominion over the minds of men. Theſe people, after embracing Chriſtianity, retained their veneration for the prieſthood. And unhappily the clergy of thoſe times had neither virtue enough to preſerve them from abuſing, nor knowledge ſufficient to enable them to make a proper uſe of their power. They blindly favoured the ſuperſtitious homage; and ſuch of the Barbarians as entered into holy orders, carried their ignorance and their original prejudices along with them.

THE Chriſtian emperors of Rome and Conſtantinople had enriched the church: they had laviſhed on it privileges and immunities; and theſe ſeducing advantages had but too much contributed to a relaxation of diſcipline, and the introduction of diſorders,

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more or leſs hurtful, which had altered the ſpirit of the goſpel. Under the dominion of the Barbarians the degeneracy increaſed, till the pure principles of Chriſtianity were loſt in a groſs ſuperſtition; which, inſtead of aſpiring to virtuous ſanctity, the only ſacrifice that can render a rational being acceptable to the great Author of order and excellence, endeavoured to conciliate the favour of God by the ſame means that ſatisfied the juſtice of men, or by thoſe employed to appeaſe their fabulous deities[2].

As the puniſhments due for civil crimes, among the northern conquerors, might be bought off by money, they attempted, in like manner, to bribe Heaven, by benefactions to the church, in order to ſupercede all future inqueſt. And the more they gave themſelves up to their brutal paſſions, to rapine, and to violence, the more profuſe they were in this ſpecies of good works. They ſeem to have believed, ſays the Abbé de Mably, that avarice was the firſt attribute of the Divinity, and that the ſaints made a traffic of their influence and protection. Hence the *bon mot* of Clovis: "St. Martin ſerves his friends very well; but he "makes them pay ſoundly for his trouble!"

"Our treaſury is poor," ſaid Chilperic, the grandſon of Clovis; "our riches are gone to the church: "the biſhops are the kings!"—And indeed the ſuperior clergy, who, by the acquiſition of lands, added the power of fortune to the influence of religion, were often the arbiters of kingdoms, and diſpoſed of the crown while they regulated the affairs of the ſtate. There was a neceſſity of conſulting them, becauſe they poſſeſſed all the knowledge that then remained

2. Moſheim, *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* vol. i. ii.

in

in Europe: they only knew any thing. The acts of their councils were considered as infallible decrees, and they spoke usually in the name of God; but, alas! they were only men.

As the interest of the clergy clashed with that of the laity, opposition and jealousy produced new disorders. The priests made use of artifice against their powerful adversaries: they invented fables to awe them into submission; they employed the spiritual arms in defence of their temporal goods; they changed the mild language of charity into frightful anathemas: the religion of Jesus breathed nothing but terror. To the thunder of the church, the instrument of so many wars and revolutions, they joined the assistance of the sword. Warlike prelates, clad in armour, combated for their possessions, or to usurp those of others; and, like the heathen priests, whose pernicious influence was founded on the ignorance of the people, the Christian clergy sought to extend their authority by confining all knowledge to their own order. They made a mystery of the most necessary sciences; truth was not permitted to see the light, and reason was fettered in the cell of superstition. Many of the clergy themselves could scarce read, and writing was chiefly confined to the cloisters[3]; where a blind and interested devotion, equally willing to deceive and to believe, held the quill, and where lying chronicles and fabulous legends were composed, which contaminated history, religion, and the principles and the laws of society.

WITHOUT arts, sciences, commerce, policy, principles, the European nations were all as barbarous

3. Persons who could not write made the sign of the cross, in place of their name, in confirmation of any legal deed. (Du Cange, Gloss. voc. *Crux.*) Hence the phrase *signing*, instead of *subscribing* a paper.

 and

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and wretched as they could poſſibly be, unleſs a miracle had been wrought for the diſgrace of humanity. Charlemagne indeed in France, and Alfred the Great in England, as you have had occaſion to ſee, endeavoured to diſpel this darkneſs, and tame their ſubjects to the reſtraints of law: and they were ſo fortunate as to ſucceed. Light and order diſtinguiſhed their reigns. But the ignorance and barbariſm of the age were too powerful for their liberal inſtitutions: the darkneſs returned, after their time, more thick and heavy than formerly, and ſettled over Europe, and ſociety again tumbled into chaos.

THE ignorance of the Weſt was ſo profound, during the ninth and tenth centuries, that the clergy, who alone poſſeſſed the important ſecrets of reading and writing, became neceſſarily the arbiters and the judges of almoſt all ſecular affairs. They comprehended within their juriſdiction, marriages, contracts, wills; which they took care to involve in myſtery, and by which they opened to themſelves new ſources of wealth and power [4]. Every thing wore the colour of religion; temporal and ſpiritual concerns were confounded; and from this unnatural mixture ſprung a thouſand abuſes. The hiſtory of thoſe ages forms a ſatire on the human ſoul; and on religion, if we ſhould impute it to the faults of its miniſters.

"REDEEM your ſouls from deſtruction," ſays St. Egidius, biſhop of Noyon, "while you have the "means in your power: offer preſents and tythes to "churchmen; come more frequently to church; "humbly implore the patronage of the ſaints; for if "you obſerve theſe things, you may come with ſe-"curity in the day of the tribunal of the Eternal

4. Du Cange, voc. *Curia Chriſtian.* Fleury, *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* tom. xix. *Diſc. Prelim.*

"Judge,

"Judge, and ſay, Give us, O Lord, for we have "given unto thee [5] !"

In ſeveral churches of France a feſtival was celebrated in commemoration of the Virgin Mary's flight into Egypt. It was called the Feaſt of the Aſs. A young girl richly dreſſed, with a child in her arms. was ſet upon an aſs ſuperbly capariſoned. The aſs was led to the altar in ſolemn proceſſion. High maſs was ſaid with great pomp. The aſs was taught to kneel at proper places; a hymn, no leſs childiſh than impious, was ſung in his praiſe: and when the ceremony was ended, the prieſt, inſtead of the uſual words with which he diſmiſſed the people, brayed three times like an aſs; and the people, inſtead of the uſual reſponſe, brayed three times in return [6].

Letters began to revive in the eleventh century, but made ſmall progreſs till toward its cloſe. A ſcientifical jargon, a falſe logic, employed about words, without conveying any idea of things, compoſed the learning of thoſe times. It confounded all things, in endeavouring to analyſe every thing. As the new ſcholars were moſtly clergymen, theological matters chiefly engaged their attention; and as they neither knew hiſtory, philoſophy, nor criticiſm, their labours were as futile as their inquiries, which were equally diſgraceful to reaſon and religion. The conception of the bleſſed Virgin, and the digeſtion of the euchariſt, were two of the principal objects of their ſpeculation: and out of the laſt a third aroſe; which was, to know whether it was voided again [7]!

The diſorders of government and manners kept pace, as they always will, with thoſe of religion and learning. Theſe diſorders ſeem to have attained their

5. D. Specileg. *Vet. Script.* vol. ii. 6. Du Cange, voc. *Feſtum.*
7. *Hiſt. Literaire de France.*

utmoſt

PART I. height about the middle of the tenth century. Then the feudal policy, the defects of which I have pointed out [8], was become universal. The dukes or governors of provinces, the marquises employed to guard the marches, and even the counts intrusted with the administration of justice, all originally officers of the crown, had made themselves masters of their duchies, marquisates, and counties. The king indeed, as superior lord, still received homage from them for those lands which they held of the crown; and which, in default of heirs, returned to the royal domain. He had a right of calling them out to war, of judging them in his court by their assembled peers, and of confiscating their estates in case of rebellion; but, in all other respects, they themselves enjoyed the rights of royalty. They had their sub-vassals, or subjects: they made laws, held courts, coined money in their own name, and levied war against their private enemies [9].

THE most frightful disorders arose from this state of feudal anarchy. Force decided all things. Europe was one great field of battle; where the weak struggled for freedom, and the strong for dominion. The king was without power, and the nobles without principle: they were tyrants at home, and robbers abroad. Nothing remained to be a check upon ferocity and violence. The Scythians in their deserts could not be less indebted to the laws of society, than the Europeans during the period under review. The people, the most numerous as well as the most useful class in the community, were either actual slaves, or exposed to so many miseries, arising from pillage and oppression, to one or other of which they were a continual prey, and often to both, that many of them made a

8. Letter II.

9. Du Cange, voc. *Feudum*.

volun-

voluntary ſurrender of their liberty for bread and protection [10]. What muſt have been the ſtate of that government where ſlavery was an eligible condition!

But, conformable to the obſervation of the philoſophic Hume, there is a point of depreſſion as well as of exaltation, beyond which human affairs ſeldom paſs, and from which they naturally return in a contrary progreſs. This utmoſt point of decline ſociety ſeems to have attained in Europe, as I have already ſaid, about the middle of the tenth century; when the diſorders of the feudal government, together with the corruption of taſte and manners conſequent upon theſe, were arrived at their greateſt exceſs. Accordingly from that æra, we can trace a ſucceſſion of cauſes and events, which, with different degrees of influence, contributed to aboliſh anarchy and barbariſm, and introduce order and politeneſs.

Among the firſt of theſe cauſes we muſt rank Chivalry; which, as the elegant and inquiſitive Dr. Robertſon remarks, though commonly conſidered as a wild inſtitution, the reſult of caprice and the ſource of extravagance, aroſe naturally from the ſtate of ſociety in thoſe times, and had a very ſerious effect in refining the manners of the European nations.

The feudal ſtate, as has been obſerved, was a ſtate of perpetual war, rapine, and anarchy. The weak and unarmed were expoſed every moment to inſults or injuries. The power of the ſovereign was too limited to prevent theſe wrongs, and the legiſlative authority too feeble to redreſs them. There was ſcarce any ſhelter from violence and oppreſſion, except what the valour and generoſity of private per-

10. Marculfus, lib. ii. cap. 8.

ſons

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ſons afforded: and the arm of the brave was the only tribunal to which the helpleſs could appeal for juſtice. The trader could no longer travel in ſafety, or bring unmoleſted his commodities to market. Every poſſeſſor of a caſtle pillaged them, or laid them under contribution; and many not only plundered the merchants, but carried off all the women that fell in their way. Slight inconveniencies may be overlooked or endured, but when abuſes grow to a certain height, the ſociety muſt reform or go to ruin. It becomes the buſineſs of all to diſcover, and to apply ſuch remedies as will moſt effectually remove the prevailing diſorders. Humanity ſprung from the boſom of violence, and relief from the hand of rapacity. Thoſe licentious and tyrannic nobles, who had been guilty of every ſpecies of outrage and every mode of oppreſſion; who, equally unjuſt, unfeeling, and ſuperſtitious, had made pilgrimages, and had pillaged! who had maſſacred, and done penance! touched at laſt with a ſenſe of natural equity, and ſwayed by the conviction of a common intereſt, formed aſſociations for the redreſs of private wrongs, and the preſervation of public ſafety [11]. So honourable was the origin of an inſtitution generally repreſented as whimſical!

The young warrior among the ancient Germans, as well as among the modern knights, was armed, for the firſt time, with certain ceremonies proper to inſpire martial ardour; but chivalry, conſidered as a civil and military inſtitution, is as late as the eleventh century. The previous diſcipline and ſolemnities of initiation were many and ſingular. The novice in chivalry was educated in the houſe of ſome knight, commonly a perſon of high rank, whom he ſerved firſt in the character of page, and afterwards of ſquire: nor was he admitted to the ſupreme honour of knighthood,

11. *Mem. ſur l'Ancienne Chevalrie*, par M. de la Curne de St. Palaye.

hood, until he had given many ſtriking proofs of his valour and addreſs. The ceremony of initiation was very ſolemn. Severe faſtings, and nights ſpent, in a church or chapel, in prayer; confeſſion of ſins, and the receiving of the ſacraments with devotion; bathing, and putting on white robes, as emblems of that purity of manners required by the laws of chivalry, were neceſſary preparations for this ceremony.

When the candidate for knighthood had gone through all theſe, and other introductory formalities, he fell at the feet of the perſon from whom he expected that honour, and on his knees delivered to him his ſword. After anſwering ſuitable queſtions, the uſual oath was adminiſtered to him; namely, to ſerve his prince, defend the faith, protect the perſons and reputations of virtuous ladies, and to reſcue, at the hazard of his life, widows, orphans, and all unhappy perſons groaning under injuſtice or oppreſſion. Then the knights and ladies, who aſſiſted at the ceremony, adorned the candidate with the armour and enſigns of chivalry; beginning with putting on the ſpurs, and ending with girding him with the ſword. Seeing him thus accoutred, the king or nobleman, who was to confer the honour of knighthood, gave him the *accolade*, or dubbing, by three gentle ſtrokes with the flat part of his ſword on the ſhoulder, or with the palm of his hand on the neck, ſaying, "In the "name of God, St. Michael, and St. George, I make "thee a knight! be thou loyal, brave, and hardy [12]."

Valour, humanity, courteſy, juſtice, honour, were the characteriſtics of Chivalry: and to theſe were added religion; which, by infuſing a large portion of enthuſiaſtic zeal, carried them all to a romantic exceſs, wonderfully ſuited to the genius of the age, and productive of the greateſt and moſt permanent

12. Id, ibid.

effects

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effects both upon policy and manners. War was carried on with less ferocity, when humanity, no less than courage came to be deemed the ornament of knighthood, and knighthood a distinction superior to royalty, and an honour which princes were proud to receive from the hands of private gentlemen; more gentle and polished manners were introduced, when courtesy was recommended as the most amiable of knightly virtues, and every knight devoted himself to the service of some lady; and violence and oppression decreased, when it was accounted meritorious to check and to punish them. A scrupulous adherence to truth, with the most religious attention to fulfil every engagement, but particularly those between the sexes, as more easily violated, became the distinguishing character of a gentleman; because chivalry was regarded as the school of honour, and inculcated the most delicate sensibibility with respect to that point [13]. And valour, seconded by so many motives of love, religion, and virtue, became altogether irresistible.

THAT the spirit of chivalry often rose to an extravagant height, and had sometimes a pernicious tendency, must however be allowed. In Spain, under the influence of a romantic gallantry, it gave birth to a series of wild adventures, which have been deservedly ridiculed: in the train of Norman ambition, it

13. This sentiment became reciprocal. Even a princess, says Tirant le Blanc, declares, That she submits to lose all right to the benefits of chivalry, and consents that never any knight shall take arms in her defence, if she keeps not the promise of marriage, which she has given to the knight who adored her. And a young gentlewoman, whose defence was undertaken by Gerard de Nevers, beholding the ardour with which he engaged in it, took off her glove, we are told, and delivered it to him, saying, "Sir, my person, my life, my lands, "and my honour, I deposit in the care of God and you; praying for "such assistance and grace, that I may be delivered out of this peril." (M. de la Curne de St. Palaye, ubi sup.) Many similar examples might be produced of this mutual confidence, the basis of that elegant intercourse between the sexes, which so remarkably distinguishes modern from ancient manners.

it extinguiſhed the liberties of England, and deluged Italy in blood; and we ſhall ſoon ſee it, at the call of ſuperſtition, and as the engine of papal power, deſolate Aſia under the banner of the croſs. But theſe violences, reſulting from accidental circumſtances, ought not to be conſidered as arguments againſt an inſtitution laudable in itſelf, and neceſſary at the time of its eſtabliſhment. And they who pretend to deſpiſe it, the advocates of ancient barbariſm and ancient ruſticity, ought to remember, That chivalry not only firſt taught mankind to carry the civilities of peace into the operations of war, and to mingle politeneſs with the uſe of the ſword, but rouſed the human ſoul from its lethargy; invigorating the human character, even while it ſoftened it, and produced exploits which antiquity cannot parallel. Nor ought they to forget, That it gave variety and elegance, and communicated an increaſe of pleaſure, to the intercourſe of life, by making woman a more eſſential part of ſociety; and is therefore entitled to our gratitude, though the point of honour, and the refinements in gallantry, its more doubtful effects, ſhould be excluded from the improvements in modern manners.

BUT the beneficial effects of chivalry were ſtrongly counteracted by other inſtitutions of a leſs ſocial kind. Some perſons of both ſexes, of moſt religions and moſt countries, have in all ages ſecluded themſelves from the world; in order to acquire a reputation for ſuperior ſanctity, or to indulge a melancholy turn of mind, affecting to hold converſe only with the Divinity. The number of theſe ſolitary devotees, however, in ancient times was few; and the ſpirit of religious ſecluſion, among the heathens, was confined chiefly to high ſouthern latitudes, where the heat of the climate favours the indolence of the cloiſter. But the caſe has been very different in more modern ages:

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for although the monaſtic life had its origin among the Chriſtians in Egypt, Syria, and Paleſtine, it rapidly ſpread not only over all Aſia and Africa but alſo over Europe, and penetrated to the moſt remote corners of the North and Weſt, almoſt at the ſame time that it reached the extremities of the Eaſt and South; to the great hurt of population and induſtry; and the obſtruction of the natural progreſs of ſociety [14].

Nor were theſe the only conſequences of the paſſion for pious ſolitude. As all who put on the religious habit, after the monaſtic ſyſtem was completely formed, took a vow of perpetual chaſtity, the commerce of the ſexes was repreſented by thoſe holy viſionaries as inconſiſtent with Chriſtian purity; and the whole body of the clergy, in order to preſerve their influence with the people, found themſelves under the neceſſity of profeſſing a life of celibacy. This condeſcenſion, which was juſtly conſidered as a triumph by the monks, increaſed their importance, and augmented the number of their fraternities. Nothing was eſteemed ſo meritorious, during the period under review, as the building and endowing of monaſteries. And multitudes of men and women of all conditions, but eſpecially of the higher ranks, conſidering the pleaſures of ſociety as ſeducers to the pit of deſtruction, and turning with horror from ſenſual delight, retired to mountains and deſerts, or crowded into cloiſters; where, under the notion of mortifying the body and ſhutting all the avenues of the ſoul againſt the allurements of external objects, they affected an auſterity that gained them univerſal veneration, and threw a cloud over the manners of the Chriſtian world [15].

The extravagance to which both ſexes are ſaid to have carried that auſterity, during the firſt fervours of monaſtic zeal, ſeems altogether incredible to cool

14. Moſheim, *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* vol. i. ii. et. Auct. cit. in loc.   15. Id. ibid.

reaſon,

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reaſon, unenlightened by philoſophy. In attempting to ſtrip human nature of every aimable and ornamental quality, in order to humble pride, and repreſs the approaches of looſe deſire; or, in their own phraſe, "to deliver the *cæleſtial ſpirit* from the *bondage* of *fleſh* "and *blood*," they in a manner diveſted themſelves of the human character. They not only lived among wild beaſts, but after the manner of thoſe ſavage animals: they ran naked through the lonely deſerts with a furious aſpect, and lodged in gloomy caverns; or grazed in the fields, like the common herd, and like cattle took their abode in the open air [16]. And ſome monks and holy virgins, by the habit of going naked, became ſo completely covered with hair, as to require no other veil to modeſty. Many choſe their rugged dwelling in the hollow ſide or narrow cleft of ſome rock, which obliged them to ſit or ſtand in the moſt painful and emaciating poſture, during the remainder of their wretched lives; while others, with no ſmall exultation, uſurped the den of ſome ferocious brother brute, whom they affected to reſemble: and not a few, under the name of Stylites, or Pillar-ſaints, aſcended the top of ſome lofty column, where they remained for years, night and day, without any ſhelter from heat or cold [17].

Even after religious houſes were provided for the devout ſolitaries of both ſexes, and endowed with ample revenues by the profuſe ſuperſtition of the newly converted Barbarians, they attempted, in their ſeveral cells, to extinguiſh every ſpark of ſenſuality, by meagre faſtings, bloody flagellations, and other cruel auſterities of diſcipline, too ſhocking to bear a

16. Moſheim, vol. ii. Tillemont *Mem. Eccleſ.* tom. viii.
17. Id. ibid.

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recital. But no ſooner did the monaſtic fury ſubſide, than nature began to aſſert her empire in the hearts of the deluded fanatics; to tell them they had wants inconſiſtent with their engagements, and that, in abandoning ſociety, they had relinquiſhed the moſt eſſential requiſites of human happineſs. The holy ſiſters and brothers, convinced of their pious folly, endeavoured by tender familiaries to conſole each other; but without violating, as they affirmed, their vow of chaſtity[18]. And although this delectable commerce was prohibited[19], as alike ſcandalous and dangerous, by reſembling too nearly the ways of the world, and provoking ſenſibilities too ſtrong for the curb of reſtraining grace, other ſolacing practices took place in the convents, not more for the honour of the monaſtic life[20]. Whenever any ſet of people, by laying a conſtraint upon the natural appetites, ſeek to arrive at a degree of purity inconſiſtent with the welfare of ſociety, they never fail to be guilty of crimes which ſociety diſclaims, and nature abhors: unleſs they relax the rigour of their inſtitutions, or ſlide back, by a blameleſs corruption, into the more ſmooth but ſlippery paths of erring humanity.

The ignorance of the times however, favoured by certain circumſtances, continued the veneration for religious ſolitude, notwithſtanding the licentiouſneſs of the monks. Many new monaſtic orders were inſtituted in the eleventh century, under various rules of diſcipline; but all with a view to greater regularity of manners. And monks were called from the lonely

18. Moſheim, ubi ſup.

19. The ſixth general council (canon xlvii.) forbids women to paſs the night in a male, or men in a female monaſtery. And the ſeventh general council (canon xx.) forbids the erecting of double, or promiſcuous monaſteries of both ſexes. (Beveridge, tom. i.) On the irregular pleaſures of the monks and nuns, ſee Thomaſſin, tom. iii.

20. Moſheim, vol. ii.

cell

cell to the moſt arduous and exalted ſtations; to fill the papal chair, and ſupport the triple crown; or to diſcharge the office of prime miniſter in ſome mighty kingdom, and regulate the intereſts of nations. Though utterly ignorant of public tranſactions, their reputation for ſuperior ſanctity, which was eaſily acquired, by real or affected auſterity, in ages of rapine and ſuperſtition, made them be thought fit to direct all things. This ghoſtly reputation even enabled them to trample upon the authority, and inſult the perſons of the princes whoſe government they adminiſtered; eſpecially if the lives of ſuch princes, as was very commonly the caſe, happened to be ſtained with any atrocious acts of luſt, violence, or oppreſſion. In order to ſtay the uplifted arm of divine juſtice, and render the Governor of the World propitious, the king knelt at the feet of the monk and the miniſter! happy to commit to the favourite of Heaven the ſole guidance of his ſpiritual and temporal concerns[21]. And if chivalry, by awakening a ſpirit of enterpriſe, had not rouſed the human powers to deeds of valour, and revived the paſſion for the ſofter ſex, by connecting it with arms, and ſeparating it from groſs deſire, Europe might have ſunk under the tyranny of a ſet of men, who pretend to renounce the

21. Beſide the wealth and influence acquired by the monks, in conſequence of the ſuperſtitious ignorance of the great, who often ſhared not only their power but the fruits of their rapine with their pious directors, a popular opinion which prevailed toward the cloſe of the tenth century, contributed greatly to augment their opulence. The thouſand years, from the birth or death of Chriſt, mentioned by St. John in the book of Revelations, were ſuppoſed to be nearly accompliſhed, and the Day of Judgment at hand. Multitudes of Chriſtians therefore, anxious only for their eternal ſalvation, delivered over to the monaſtic orders all their lands, treaſures, and other valuable effects, and repaired with precipitation to Paleſtine, where they expected the appearance of Chriſt on Mount Sion. Moſheim, vol. ii.

PART I. world and its affairs, and Chriſtendom have become but one great cloiſter.

LETTER XXII.

The GERMAN *Empire and its Dependencies,* ROME *and the* ITALIAN *States, under* CONRAD II. *and his Deſcendants of the Houſe of* FRANCONIA.

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WE now, my dear Philip, return to the great line of hiſtory, which I ſhall endeavour to trace as exactly as poſſible, that you may be able to keep in view the train of events; without which, you will neither be able to reaſon diſtinctly on them yourſelf, nor to underſtand clearly the reaſonings of others. I ſhall therefore bring down the hiſtory of the German empire to the death of Henry V. when the quarrel between the popes and the emperors came to a ſtand, before I ſpeak of the affairs of France and England; which, from the Norman conqueſt, became inſeparably interwoven, but had little influence for ſome centuries on the reſt of Europe.

GREAT diſputes enſued on the death of Henry II. about the nomination of a ſucceſſor to the empire; that prince, as you have had occaſion to ſee, dying without iſſue. The princes and ſtates aſſembled in the open fields, between Mentz and Worms, no hall being ſufficient to hold them; and, after ſix weeks encampment and deliberation, they elected Conrad, duke A.D. 1024. of Franconia, ſurnamed the Salic, becauſe he was born on the banks of the river Sala[1].

1. *Annal. de l'Emp.* tom. i.

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THE Lombards revolting, as usual, soon after the election of the new emperor, Conrad marched into Italy; and having reduced the rebels by force of arms, he went to Rome, where he was consecrated and crowned by Pope John XX. in presence of Canute the Great, king of England, Denmark, and Norway, and Rodolph III. king of Transjurane Burgundy. But his stay at Rome was short. Scarce was the coronation over, when he was obliged to return to Germany, on account of some insurrections raised in his absence. He took the precaution, however, before he attempted to humble the insurgents, to get his son Henry, then above twelve years of age, declared his successor, and solemnly crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle. The rebellion was soon after suppressed by the valour of Conrad. He defeated the authors of it in several engagements; in one of which, Ernest, duke of Suabia, who had been put to the ban of the empire, was slain[2]. A. D. 1027.

THE word *ban* originally signified banner, afterwards edict, and lastly a declaration of outlawry, which was intimated thus: "We declare thy wife a "widow, thy children orphans; and send thee, in "the name of the devil, to the four corners of the "earth." This is one of the first examples of that proscription.

THE emperor next turned his arms against the Poles, and afterwards against the Huns, and obliged both to subscribe to his own conditions. In the mean time Rodolph, king of Transjurane Burgundy, dying without issue, left his dominions to Conrad. They were of small extent, but included the seignioral superiority over the Swiss, the Grisons, Pro- A.D. 1034.

2. Heiss, lib. ii.

PART I. vence, Franche-Compté, Savoy, Geneva, and Dauphiné. Hence the lands on the other ſide of the Rhine are ſtill called the Lands of the Empire; and all the noblemen of thoſe cantons, who formerly held of Rodolph and his predeceſſors, now hold of the emperor[3].

WHILE Conrad II. was employed in taking poſſeſſion of his new inheritance, the Poles revolted: and this rebellion was no ſooner quelled than he had occaſion to compoſe another in Italy, headed by Hubert, biſhop of Milan, whom he had loaded with favours. Conrad made ſo much haſte, that Milan was taken by ſurpriſe. The biſhop was condemned
A.D. 1039. to perpetual baniſhment; and the emperor died ſoon after his return to Germany, leaving behind him the reputation of a juſt, generous, and magnanimous prince[4].

HENRY III. ſurnamed the Black, ſon of Conrad and Giſella of Suabia, was elected in conſequence of his father's recommendation, and crowned a ſecond time at Aix-la-Chapelle.

THE firſt years of Henry's reign were ſignalized by ſucceſsful wars againſt Bohemia, Poland, and Hungary; which, however, produced no memorable event. Rome and Italy, as uſual, were involved in confuſion, and diſtracted by factions, particularly thoſe of the Pandolphi and the Ptolemei. The Pandolphi had thruſt Benedict IX. a boy of twelve years of age, into the papacy. He was depoſed, by the Ptolemei and the people, who ſubſtituted in his place Sylveſter III. This new pope was depoſed, in his
A.D. 1044. turn, by the Pandolphi, and his rival re-eſtabliſhed. Benedict, however, finding himſelf univerſally deſ-

3. *Annal. de l'Emp.* tom. i. 4. Heiſs, lib. ii.

piſed,

pifed, voluntarily refigned in favour of John, arch-priest of the Roman church; but afterwards repenting of his refignation, he wanted to refume his dignity.

THESE three popes, fupported by their feveral partizans, and living peaceably with each other, maintained themfelves each upon a different branch of the revenues of the Holy See. One refided at St. Peter's, another at Santa Maria Major, and the third in the palace of the Lateran, all leading the moft profligate and fcandalous lives. A prieft, called Gratian, at laft put an end to this fingular triumvirate. Partly by artifice, partly by prefents, he prevailed upon all three to renounce their pretenfions to the papacy; and the people of Rome, out of gratitude for fo fignal a fervice to the church, chofe him pope, under the name of Gregory VI.

HENRY III. took umbrage at this election, in which he had not been confulted, and marched with an army into Italy. No emperor ever exercifed more abfolute authority in that country. He depofed Gregory, as having been guilty of fimony, and filled the papal chair with his own chancellor, Suidger or Heidiger, A. D. 1046. bifhop of Bamberg, who affumed the name of Clement II. and afterward confecrated at Rome Henry and the emprefs Agnes [5].

THIS ceremony being over, and the Romans having fworn never to elect a pope without the approbation of the reigning emperor, Henry proceeded to Capua, where he was vifited by Drago, Rainulphus, A. D. 1047. and other Norman adventurers; who, having left their country, namely the duchy of Normandy, at different times, had made themfelves mafters of

5. Muratori, *Annal. d'Ital.* Mofheim, *Hift. Ecclef.* vol. ii.

 great

PART I. A.D. 1047. great part of Apulia and Calabria, at the expence of the Greeks and Saracens. Henry entered into a treaty with them; and not only solemnly invested them with those territories which they had acquired by conquest, but prevailed on the pope to excommunicate the Beneventines, who had refused to open their gates to him, and bestowed that city and its dependencies, as fiefs of the empire, upon the Norman princes, provided they took possession by force of arms[6]. What use they made of the imperial favour, we shall afterwards have occasion to see. At present the papacy claims all our attention.

The emperor was scarce returned to Germany, when he received intelligence of the death of Clement II. Clement was succeeded in the apostolic see, by A.D. 1048. Damasus II. who also dying soon after his elevation, Henry nominated Bruno, bishop of Toul, to the vacant chair. This Bruno, who was the emperor's relation, immediately assumed the pontificals; but being a modest and pious prelate, he threw them off on his journey, by the persuasion of Hildebrand, a monk of Cluny, and went to Rome as a private man. "The emperor alone," said Hildebrand, "has no "right to create a pope." He accompanied Bruno to Rome, and secretly retarded his election, that he might arrogate to himself the merit of obtaining it[7]. The scheme succeeded to his wish. Bruno, who took the name of Leo IX. believing himself indebted to Hildebrand for the pontificate, favoured him with his particular friendship and confidence; and hence originated the power of this enterprising monk, of obscure birth but boundless ambition, who so long governed

6. *Hist. Conq. de Norm.*

7. Leo Ostiensis, lib. ii. Dithmar, *Vit. Greg.* VII.

Rome,

Rome, and whoſe zeal for the exaltation of the church occaſioned ſo many troubles to Europe.

Leo, ſoon after his elevation, waited on the emperor, at Worms, to crave aſſiſtance againſt the Norman princes, who were become the terror of Italy, and treated their ſubjects with great ſeverity. Henry furniſhed the pope with an army; at the head of which his Holineſs marched againſt the Normans, after having excommunicated them, accompanied by a great number of biſhops, and other eccleſiaſtics, who were all either killed or taken priſoners, the Germans and Italians being totally routed. Leo himſelf was led captive to Benevento, of which the Normans were now maſters, and which Henry had granted to the pope in exchange for the fief of Bamberg in Germany: and the apoſtolic ſee is to this day in poſſeſſion of Benevento, by virtue of Henry's donation. The Norman chiefs, however, who had a right to that city by a prior grant, reſtored it, in the mean time, to the princes of Lombardy; and the Holy Father was treated with ſo much reſpect by the conquerors, that he revoked the ſentence of excommunication, and joined his ſanction to the imperial inveſtiture for the lands which they held in Apulia and Calabria [8]. A.D. 1053.

Leo died ſoon after his releaſe; and the emperor, about the ſame time, cauſed his infant ſon, afterwards the famous Henry IV. to be declared King of the Romans, a title ſtill in uſe for the acknowledged heir of the empire. Gebhard, a German biſhop, was elected pope, under the name of Victor II. and confirmed by the addreſs of Hildebrand, who waited on the emperor in perſon for that purpoſe, though he diſdained A. D. 1054.

8. Giannone, *Hiſt. di Napol.*

to

PART I. to consult him beforehand [9]. Perhaps Hildebrand would not have found this task so easy, had not Henry been involved in a war with the Hungarians, who pressed him hard, but whom he obliged at last to pay a large tribute, and furnish him annually with a certain number of fighting men.

As soon as the emperor had finished this war, and others to which it gave rise, he marched into Italy to inspect the conduct of his sister Beatrice, widow of Boniface marquis of Mantua, and made her prisoner. She had married Gozelo, duke of Lorrain, without the emperor's consent: and contracted her daughter Matilda, by the marquis of Mantua, to Godfrey duke of Spoleto and Tuscany, Gozelo's son by a former marriage. This formidable alliance justly alarmed Henry; he therefore attempted to dissolve it by carrying his sister into Germany, where he died soon after his return, in the thirty-ninth year of his age, and the sixteenth of his reign.

A.D. 1056.

THIS emperor, in his last journey to Italy, concluded an alliance with Contarini, doge of Venice. That republic was already rich and powerful, though it had only been enfranchised in the year 998, from the tribute of a mantle of cloth of gold, which it formerly paid, as a mark of subjection, to the emperors of Constantinople. Genoa was the rival of Venice in power and in commerce, and was already in possession of the island of Corsica, which the Genoese had taken from the Saracens [10]. These two cities, which I shall afterwards have occasion frequently to mention, ingrossed at this time almost all the trade of Europe.

9. Leo Ostiensis, lib. ii. *Hist. Literaire de la France*, tom. vii.
10. Muratori, *Annal. d'Ital.* tom. vi.

There

There was no city in France or Germany equal, in any respect, to either of them. LETTER XXII.

A.D. 1056.

HENRY IV. surnamed the Great, was only five years old at his father's death. He was immediately acknowledged emperor in a diet of the princes convoked at Cologne, and the care of his education was committed to his mother Agnes, who also governed the empire. She was a woman of spirit and address, and discharged both her public and private trust with diligence and ability.

GERMANY, during the first years of this reign, was harrassed with civil wars; so that the empress Agnes, notwithstanding her strong talents, found it difficult to maintain her authority. And at length the dukes of Saxony and Bavaria, uncles of the young emperor, carried him off from her by stratagem, accusing her of sacrificing the public welfare to the will of the bishop of Augsburg, her minister and supposed gallant. Thus divested of the regency, she fled to Rome, and there took the veil [11]. A. D. 1062.

HENRY was now put under the tuition of the archbishops of Cologne and Bremen, who discharged their trust in a very opposite manner. The first endeavoured to inspire him with a love of learning and virtue, while the second sought only to acquire an ascendancy over his passions, by indulging him in all the pleasures of youth. This indulgence produced a habit of licentiousness which he could never afterwards restrain.

ITALY, in the mean time, was a prey, as usual, to intestine disorders. After a variety of troubles ex-

11. *Annal. de l'Emp.*

cited

PART I.

cited on account of the pontificate, Nicholas II. the creature of Hildebrand, passed a famous decree, which gave rise to many more; and by which it was ordained, in a council of a hundred and thirteen bishops, That for the future the cardinals only should elect the pope, and that the election should be confirmed by the rest of the Roman clergy and the people: "saving the honour," adds he, "due to our dear son "Henry, now king; and who, if it please God, shall "one day be emperor, according to the privilege "which we have already conferred upon him; and saving the honour of his successors on whom the Apostolic See shall confer the same high privilege[12]."

The same pope Nicholas II. after having in vain excommunicated the Norman princes, made protectors and vassals of them; and they, who were feudatories of the empire, less afraid of the popes than the emperors, readily did homage for their lands to Nicholas, in 1059, and agreed to hold them of the church[13].

This mode of holding was very common in those days of rapacity, both for princes and private persons, the only authority then respected being that of the church: and the Normans wisely made use of it as a safe-guard against the emperors. They gave their lands to the church under the name of an offering, or oblata, and continued in possession of them on paying a slight acknowledgement. Hence the pope's claim of superiority over the kingdom of Naples and Sicily.

12. *Chronicon Farfense* in Murat. *Script. Rer. Ital.* tom. ii. par. ii. To this edict of Nicholas II. the college of cardinals owes the extensive authority and important privileges it still enjoys. Under the name of *Cardinals* he comprehends the seven Roman bishops, who were considered as his suffragans, and also the twenty-eight presbyters, or parish-priests, who officiated in the principal churches. Mosheim. *Hist. Eccles.* vol. ii.

13. Giannone, *Hist. di Napol.*

ROBERT

Robert Guiscard, brother of Drago, and one of the gallant ſons of Tancred of Hauteville, received from the pope the ducal crown of Apulia and Calabria; and Richard, count of Averſa, was confirmed prince of Capua, a title which he had already aſſumed. The pope alſo gave the Normans a right to hold Sicily in the ſame manner with their other poſſeſſions, provided they could expel the Saracens from it[14]: and Robert Guiſcard and his brother Roger made themſelves fully maſters of that iſland in 1061.

Henry IV. aſſumed the reins of government at the age of twenty-two, and began his adminiſtration with reſtraining the thefts, robberies, and extortions, which his ſubjects of the duchy of Saxony exerciſed upon ſtrangers, as well as upon each other. But the Saxon princes and nobles, who were gainers by theſe abuſes, particularly by the infamous practice of impriſoning travellers, and making them pay for their ranſom, oppoſed the intended reformation, and entered into an aſſociation againſt the emperor, under pretence that their liberties were in danger. In this rebellious diſpoſition they were encouraged by the arrogance of pope Alexander II. who, at the inſtigation of Hildebrand, his confidant and oracle, ſummoned Henry to appear before the tribunal of the Holy See, on account of his looſe life, and to anſwer to the charge of having expoſed the inveſtiture of biſhops to ſale[15]. A.D. 1072.

Henry treated the pope's mandate with the contempt it deſerved; and at the ſame time carried on war with vigour againſt the Saxons, and their rebellious aſſociates, whom he totally routed in a bloody A.D. 1074

14. Id. ibid.
15. Leo Oſtienſis, lib. iii. Dithmar, *Vit. Greg.* VII.

engage-

PART I.

A. D. 1075.

engagement, and made himſelf maſter of all Saxony. The heads of the rebellion aſked pardon of the emperor in public, and begged to be reſtored to his favour: he generouſly accepted their ſubmiſſion, and peace was reſtored to Germany [16].

BUT Henry was not ſuffered long to enjoy the fruits of his valour. A new ſtorm threatened him from Italy; which afterwards fell with violence on his head, and ſhook all the thrones in Chriſtendom. On the death of Alexander II. in 1073, Hildebrand had been elected pope, under the name of Gregory VII. and although he had not aſked the emperor's voice, he prudently waited for his confirmation, before he aſſumed the tiara. He obtained it by this mark of ſubmiſſion: Henry confirmed his election; and Gregory, having nothing further to fear, pulled off the maſk. He began his pontificate with excommunicating every eccleſiaſtic who ſhould receive a benefice from a layman, and every layman by whom ſuch benefice ſhould be conferred. This was engaging the church in an open war with the ſovereigns of all nations. But the thunder of the Holy See was more particularly directed againſt the emperor; and Henry, ſenſible of his danger, and willing to avert it, wrote a ſubmiſſive letter to Gregory, who pretended to take him into favour, after having ſeverely reprimanded him for the crimes of ſimony and debauchery, laid againſt him by the late pope, and of which he now confeſſed himſelf guilty [17].

GREGORY, at the ſame time, propoſed a cruſade, in order to deliver the holy ſepulchre from the hands of the Infidels; offering to head the Chriſtians in perſon, and deſiring Henry to ſerve as a volunteer under

16. Heiſs, *Hiſt. de l' Emp.* lib. ii.

17. *Annal. de l' Emp.* tom i. Dithmar. *Vit. Greg.* VII.

his

his command [18]!—a project so wild and extravagant, that nothing but the prevailing spirit of the times, the double enthusiasm of religion and valour, can save the memory of its author from the imputation of insanity.

GREGORY's project of making himself lord of Christendom, by not only dissolving the jurisdiction which kings and emperors had hitherto exercised over the various orders of the clergy, but also by subjecting to the papal authority all temporal princes, and rendering their dominions tributary to the see of Rome, seems no less romantic; yet this he undertook, and not altogether without success. Solomon, king of Hungary, dethroned by his brother Geysa, had fled to Henry for protection, and renewed the homage of Hungary to the empire. Gregory, who favoured Geysa, exclaimed against this act of submission; and said, in a letter to Solomon, "You ought to know, "that the kingdom of Hungary belongs to the Ro-"man church; and learn, That you will incur the "indignation of the Holy See, if you do not acknow-"ledge that you hold your dominions of the pope, "and not of the emperor [19]!"

THIS presumptuous declaration, and the neglect it met with, brought the quarrel between the empire and the church to a crisis. It was directed to Solomon, but intended for Henry. And if Gregory could not succeed in one way, he was resolved that he should in another: he therefore resumed the claim of investitures, for which he had a more plausible pretence; and as that dispute and its consequences merit par-

18. Id. ibid.

19. Goldast. *Apologia pro Hen. IV. Thomas. Conten. inter. Imp. et. Sacerdot.*

ticular

PART I. A. D. 1075. ticular attention, I ſhall be more circumſtantial than uſual.

The predeceſſors of Henry IV. had always enjoyed the right of nominating biſhops and abbots, and of giving them inveſtiture by the ring and croſier. This right they had in common with almoſt all princes. The predeceſſors of Gregory VII. had been accuſtomed, on their part, to ſend legates to the emperors, in order to entreat their aſſiſtance; to obtain their confirmation, or deſire them to come and receive the papal ſanction, but for no other purpoſe. Gregory, however, ſent two legates to ſummon Henry to appear before him as a delinquent, becauſe he ſtill continued to beſtow inveſtitures, notwithſtanding the apoſtolic decree to the contrary; adding, That if he ſhould fail to yield obedience to the church, he muſt expect to be excommunicated and dethroned.

Incensed at that arrogant meſſage from one whom he conſidered as his vaſſal, Henry diſmiſſed the legates with very little ceremony, and convoked an aſſembly of all the German princes and dignified eccleſiaſtics at
A. D. 1076. Worms; where, after mature deliberation, they concluded, That Gregory having uſurped the chair of St. Peter by indirect means, infected the church of God with many novelties and abuſes, and deviated from his duty to his ſovereign in ſeveral ſcandalous attempts, the emperor, by that ſupreme authority derived from his predeceſſors, ought to diveſt him of his dignity, and appoint another in his place [20].

In conſequence of this determination, Henry ſent an ambaſſador to Rome, with a formal deprivation of Gregory; who, in his turn, convoked a council, at

20. Schilter. *De Libertat. Eccleſ. German.* lib. iv.

which

LETTER XXII. A.D. 1076.

which were present a hundred and ten bishops, who unanimously agreed, That the pope had just cause to depose Henry; to dissolve the oath of allegiance which the princes and states had taken in his favour; and to prohibit them from holding any correspondence with him on pain of excommunication. And that sentence was immediately fulminated against the emperor and his adherents. "In the name of Almighty God, and by your authority," said Gregory, alluding to the members of the council, "I prohibit "Henry, the son of our emperor Henry, from governing the Teutonic kingdom, and Italy: I release all Christians from their oath of allegiance "to him; and I strictly forbid all persons from serving or attending him as king[21]."

This is the first instance of a pope's pretending to deprive a sovereign of his crown, but it was too flattering to ecclesiastical pride to be the last!—No prelate, from the foundation of the church, had ever presumed to use so imperious a language as Gregory; for although Lewis the Debonnaire had been deposed by his bishops, there was at least some colour for that step. They condemned Lewis, in appearance, only to do public penance.

The circular letters written by this pontiff breathe the same spirit with his sentence of deposition. In these he repeatedly asserts, That "bishops are superior to kings, and made to judge them!"—expressions alike artful and presumptuous, and calculated for bringing in all the churchmen of the world to his standard. Gregory's purpose is said to have been, to engage in the bonds of fidelity and allegiance to the Vicar of Christ, as King of Kings and Lord o

21. Dithmar. *Hist. Bell. inter Imp. et Sacerdot.*

PART I. A.D. 1076.

Lords, all the potentates of the earth, and to eſtabliſh at Rome an annual aſſembly of biſhops, by whom the conteſts that might ariſe between kingdoms and ſovereign ſtates were to be decided; the rights and pretenſions of princes to be examined, and the fate of nations and empires to be determined [22].

The haughty pontiff knew well what conſequences would follow the thunder of the church. The German biſhops came immediately over to his party, and drew along with them many of the nobles: the brand of civil war ſtill lay ſmouldering, and a bull properly directed was ſufficient to ſet it in a blaze. The Saxons, Henry's old enemies, made uſe of the papal diſpleaſure as a pretence for rebelling againſt him. Even his favourite Guelf, a nobleman to whom he had given the duchy of Bavaria, ſupported the malecontents with that power which he owed to his ſovereign's bounty: nay, thoſe very princes and prelates who had aſſiſted in depoſing Gregory, gave up their monarch to be tried by the pope; and his Holineſs was ſolicited to come to Augſburg for that purpoſe [23].

Willing to prevent this odious trial at Augſburg, Henry took the unaccountable reſolution of ſuddenly paſſing the Alps at Tirol, accompanied only by a few domeſtics, in order to aſk abſolution of Gregory, his tyrannical oppreſſor, who was then in Canoſa, on the Apennines; a fortreſs belonging to the counteſs or ducheſs Matilda, whom I have already had occaſion to mention. At the gates of this place the emperor preſented himſelf as an humble penitent. He alone was admitted within the outer court; where,

22. Moſheim. *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* vol. ii. par. ii. cent. xi. et Auct. cit. in loc.
23. Dithmar. ubi ſup. *Annal. German.* ap. Struv.

LETTER XXII. A. D. 1077.

being ſtript of his robes, and wrapt in ſack-cloth, he was obliged to remain three days, in the month of January, barefooted and faſting, before he was permitted to kiſs the feet of his Holineſs, who all that time was ſhut up with the devout Matilda, whoſe ſpiritual director he had long been; and, as ſome ſay, her gallant. But be that as it may, her attachment to Gregory, and her hatred againſt the Germans, was ſo great, that ſhe made over all her eſtates to the apoſtolic ſee: and this donation is the true cauſe of all the wars, which ſince that period have raged between the emperors and the popes. She poſſeſſed, in her own right, great part of Tuſcany; Mantua, Parma, Reggio, Placentia, Ferrara, Modena, Verona, and almoſt the whole of what is now called the patrimony of St. Peter, from Viterbo to Orvieto; together with part of Umbria, Spoleto, and the Marche of Ancona [24].

The emperor was at length permitted to throw himſelf at the feet of the haughty pontiff, who condeſcended to grant him abſolution, after he had ſworn obedience to his Holineſs in all things, and promiſed to ſubmit to his ſolemn deciſion at Augſburg; ſo that Henry got nothing but diſgrace by his journey, while Gregory, elated with his triumph, and now looking upon himſelf, not altogether without reaſon, as the lord and maſter of all the crowned heads in Chriſtendom, ſaid in ſeveral of his letters, that it was his duty "to pull down the pride of kings."

This extraordinary accommodation gave much diſguſt to the princes of Italy. They never could forgive the inſolence of the pope nor the abject humi-

24. Fran. Mar. Florent. *Mem. della Conteſſa Matilda.*

 lity

PART. I. A. D. 1077. lity of the emperor. Happily however for Henry, their indignation at Gregory's arrogance overbalanced their deteſtation of *his* meanneſs. He took advantage of this temper: and by a change of fortune, hitherto unknown to the German emperors, he found a ſtrong party in Italy, when abandoned in Germany. All Lombardy took up arms againſt the pope, while he was raiſing all Germany againſt the emperor.

Gregory, on the one hand, made uſe of every art to get another emperor elected in Germany; and Henry, on his part, left nothing undone to perſuade the Italians to elect another pope. The Germans choſe Rodolph, duke of Suabia, who was ſolemnly crowned
A.D. 1078. at Mentz; and Gregory, heſitating on this occaſion, behaved truly like the ſupreme judge of kings. He had depoſed Henry, but ſtill it was in his power to pardon that prince: he therefore affected to be diſpleaſed that Rodolph was conſecrated without his order; and declared, that he would acknowledge as emperor and king of Germany, him of the two competitors who ſhould be moſt ſubmiſſive to the Holy See[25].

Henry however, truſting more to the valour of his troops than to the generoſity of the pope, ſet out immediately for Germany, where he defeated his enemies in ſeveral engagements: and Gregory ſeeing no
A. D. 1080. hopes of ſubmiſſion, thundered out a ſecond ſentence of excommunication againſt him, confirming at the ſame time the election of Rodolph, to whom he ſent a golden crown, on which the following well-known verſe, equally haughty and puerile, was engraved:

25. Dithmar. *Hiſt. Bell. inter Imp. et Sacerdot.* Muratori, *Annal. d'Ital.*

Petra

LETTER XXII.

A. D. 1080.

Petra dedit Petro, Petrus diadema Rodolpho.

THIS donation was alſo accompanied with a prophetic anathema againſt Henry, ſo wild and extravagant, as to make one doubt, whether it was dictated by enthuſiaſm or prieſtcraft. After depriving him of *ſtrength in combat*, and condemning him *never to be victorious*, it concludes with the following remarkable apoſtrophe to St. Peter and St. Paul: "Make all men "ſenſible, that as you can bind and looſe every thing "in Heaven, you can alſo upon earth take from, or "give to every one according to his deſerts, empires, "kingdoms, principalities—let the kings and princes "of the age then inſtantly feel your power, that they "may not dare to deſpiſe the orders of your church; "let your juſtice be ſo ſpeedily executed upon Hen"ry, that nobody may doubt but he falls by your "means, and not by chance[26]."

IN order to avoid the effects of the ſecond excommunication, Henry took a ſtep worthy of himſelf. He aſſembled at Brixen, in the county of Tirol, about twenty German biſhops; who acting alſo for the biſhops of Lombardy, unanimouſly reſolved, That the pope, inſtead of having power over the emperor, owed him obedience and allegiance; that Gregory VII. having rendered himſelf unworthy of the papal chair by his miſconduct and rebellion, ought to be depoſed from a dignity he ſo little deſerved. They accordingly degraded Hildebrand, and elected in his room Guibert, archbiſhop of Ravenna, a perſon of undoubted merit, who took the name of Clement III.

HENRY promiſed to put the new pope in poſſeſſion of Rome. But he was obliged, in the mean time, to

26. Hardouin, *Concil.* Fleury, *Hiſt. Eccleſ.*

PART I. A.D. 1080. shift the scene of action, and to employ all his forces against his rival Rodolph, who had re-assembled a large body of troops in Saxony. The two armies met near Mersburg, and both fought with great fury. Victory remained long doubtful; but the fortune of the day seemed inclining to Rodolph, when his hand was cut off by the famous Godfrey of Bouillon, then in the service of Henry, and afterwards renowned by the conquest of Jerusalem. Discouraged by the misfortune of their chief, the rebels immediately gave way; and Rodolph perceiving his end approaching, ordered the hand that was cut off to be brought him, and made a speech to his officers on the occasion, which could not fail to have a favourable influence on the emperor's affairs. "Behold," said he, "the "hand with which I took the oath of allegiance to "Henry; an oath, which at the instigation of Rome, "I have violated, in perfidiously aspiring to an ho-"nour that was not my due[27]."

The emperor thus delivered from his formidable antagonist, soon dispersed the rest of his enemies in Germany, and set out for Italy, in order to settle Clement III. in the papal chair. But the gates of
A.D. 1081. Rome being shut against him, he was obliged to attack it in form. The siege continued upwards of two years; Henry, during that time, being obliged to quell some insurrections in Germany. The city was at length carried by assault, and with difficulty saved from being pillaged; but Gregory was not taken: he retired into the castle of St. Angelo, and thence defied and excommunicated the conqueror.

A.D. 1084. The new pope was however consecrated with the usual ceremonies, and expressed his gratitude by

27. *Chron. Magdeb.*

crowning

crowning Henry, with the concurrence of the Roman senate and people. Mean while the siege of St. Angelo was going on; but the emperor being called about some affairs into Lombardy, Robert Guiscard took advantage of his absence to release Gregory, who died soon after at Salerno. His last words, borrowed from the scripture, were worthy of the greatest saint: "I "have loved justice, and hated iniquity; therefore I "die in exile[28]!" LETTER XXII. A. D. 1084. A. D. 1085.

Henry did not long enjoy the success of his Italian expedition, or that tranquillity which might have been expected from the death of Gregory. Germany was involved in new troubles: thither he hastened with all expedition. The Saxons, his old enemies, had elected a king of the Romans, whom he defeated in several engagements, and whose blood atoned for his presumption. Another pretender shared the same fate. Every thing yielded to the emperor's valour.

But while Henry was thus victorious in Germany, his enemies were busy in embroiling his affairs in Italy, into which he found it necessary again to march. Not satisfied with Clement III. the emperor's pope, they had elected the abbot of Monte Cassino, under the name of Victor III. and he dying in a short time, they chose in his room Urban II. who, in conjunction with the countess Matilda, seduced the emperor's son, Conrad, into a rebellion against his father.—It was this Urban who held the famous council of Clermont, of which I shall afterwards have occasion to speak, and where the first crusade was resolved upon. A. D. 1087.

Conrad assumed the title of king of Italy, and was actually crowned by Anselmo, archbishop of Mi- A. D. 1090.

28. *Vit. Greg.* VII. Murat. ubi sup.

PART I. A.D. 1090. lan. Soon after this ceremony, he married the daughter of Roger, king of Sicily; and succeeded so well in his usurpation, that the greater part of the Italian cities and nobles acknowledged him as their sovereign. The emperor, therefore, despairing of being able to reduce his son to obedience, returned to Germany; where he assembled the princes, who put Conrad to the ban of the empire, and declared his brother Henry king of

A.D. 1099. the Romans[29]. An accommodation was made with the Saxons and Bavarians, and the emperor hoped to spend the latter part of his life in peace.

In the mean time Conrad died; and Paschal II. another Hildebrand, succeeded Urban in the see of Rome. This pope no sooner found himself safely seated in the papal chair, than he called a council, to which he summoned the emperor; and as Henry did not obey the

A.D. 1101. citation, he excommunicated him a-new for the schisms which he had introduced into the church. But that vengeance, though sufficiently severe, was gentle, in comparison of what Pascal meditated and accomplished. He excited young Henry to rebel against his father, under pretence of defending the cause of the orthodox; alledging, that he was bound to take upon himself the reins of government, as he could neither acknowledge a king nor a father that was excommunicated[30].

In vain did the emperor use every paternal remonstrance to dissuade his son from proceeding to extremities: the breach became wider and wider, and both prepared for the decision of the sword. But the son dreading his father's military superiority, and confiding in his tenderness, made use of a stratagem equally base and effectual. He threw himself unexpected-

29. *Chron. Magdeb.*

30. Dithmar. *Hist. Bell. inter Imp. et Sacerdot.*

LETTER XXII.

A. D. 1011.

ly at the emperor's feet, and begged pardon for his undutiful behaviour, which he imputed to the advice of evil counſellors. In conſequence of this ſubmiſſion, he was immediately taken into favour, and the emperor diſmiſſed his army. The ungrateful youth now bared his perfidious heart: he ordered his father to be confined; while he aſſembled a diet of his own confederates, at which the pope's legate preſided, and repeated the ſentence of excommunication againſt the emperor Henry IV. who was inſtantly depoſed, and the parricidious uſurper Henry V. proclaimed [31]. A. D. 1106.

The archbiſhops of Mentz and Cologne were ſent as deputies to the old emperor, to intimate his depoſition, and demand the crown, and other regalia. Henry received this deputation with equal ſurprize and concern; and finding the chief accuſation againſt him was, "the ſcandalous manner in which he had ſet "biſhopricks to ſale," he thus addreſſed the audacious eccleſiaſtics: "If we have proſtituted the benefices of "the church for hire, you yourſelves are the moſt pro-"per perſons to convict us of that ſimony. Say then, "I conjure you, in the name of the eternal God! what "have we exacted, or what have we received, for "having promoted you to the dignities which you "now enjoy?" They acknowledged he was innocent, as far as regarded their preferment:—"and yet," continued he, "the archbiſhopricks of Mentz and Co-"logne being two of the beſt in our gift, we might "have filled our coffers by expoſing them to ſale. "We beſtowed them, however, on you, out of free "grace and favour;—and a worthy return you make "to our benevolence!—Do not, we beſeech you, "become abettors of thoſe who have lifted up their "hand againſt their lord and maſter, in defiance of "faith, gratitude, and allegiance."

31. Id. ibid.

THE

PART I. A.D. 1106.

The two archbiſhops, unmoved by that pathetic addreſs, inſiſted on his compliance with the purport of their errand. On this he retired, and put on his royal ornaments; then returning to the apartment he had left, and ſeating himſelf on a chair of ſtate, he renewed his remonſtrance in theſe words: "Here are the marks of that royalty with which we "were inveſted by God and the princes of the em-"pire; if you diſregard the wrath of Heaven, and "the eternal reproach of mankind, ſo much as to "lay violent hands on your ſovereign, you may ſtrip "us of them. We are not in a condition to defend "ourſelves."

This ſpeech had no more effect than the former upon the unfeeling prelates, who inſtantly ſnatched the crown from his head; and dragging him from his chair, pulled off his royal robes by force. While they were thus employed, Henry exclaimed, "Great "God!"—the tears trickling down his venerable cheeks—"thou art the God of vengeance, and wilt "repay this outrage. I have ſinned, I own, and "merited ſuch ſhame by the follies of my youth; "but thou wilt not fail to puniſh thoſe traitors, for "their perjury, inſolence, and ingratitude [32]."

To ſuch a degree of wretchedneſs was this unhappy prince reduced by the barbarity of his ſon, that, deſtitute of the common neceſſaries of life, he entreated Gertrad, biſhop of Spire, whom he had created, to grant him a canonicate for his ſubſiſtence; repreſenting, that he was capable of performing the office of "chant-"er or reader!" Being denied that humble requeſt, he ſhed a flood of tears, and turning to thoſe who were preſent, ſaid with a deep ſigh, "My dear friends, at

32. Dithmar. ubi ſup. Heiſs, lib. ii. cap. ix.

"leaſt

LETTER XXII. A.D. 1106.

"least have pity on my condition, for I am touched "by the hand of the Lord[33]!"—The hand of man, at least, was heavy upon him; for he was not only in want, but under confinement.

In the midst of these distresses, when every one thought his courage was utterly extinguished, and his soul overwhelmed by despondence, Henry found means to escape from his keepers, and reached Cologne, where he was recognized as lawful emperor. He next repaired to the Low Countries, where he found friends, who raised a considerable body of troops to facilitate his restoration: and he sent circular letters to all the princes of Christendom, in order to interest them in his cause. He even wrote to the pope, giving him to understand, that he was inclined to an accommodation, provided it could be settled without prejudice to his crown. But before any thing material could be executed in Henry's favour, he died at Liege, (Aug. 7.) in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and the forty-ninth of his reign. He was a prince of great courage, and excellent endowments both of body and mind. There was an air of dignity in his appearance that spoke the greatness of his soul. He possessed a natural fund of eloquence and vivacity; was of a mild and merciful temper; extremely charitable; and an admirable pattern of fortitude and resignation[34].

Henry V. put the finishing stroke to his barbarous, unnatural, and hypocritical conduct, by causing his father's body, as the carcase of an excommunicated wretch, to be dug out of the grave where it was buried, in the cathedral of Liege, and be carried to a cave at Spire[35]. But notwithstanding his

33. Id. ibid. 34. Gob. Pers. Leo Ostiens. *Chron Magdeb.*
35. *Annal. de l'Emp.* tom. i.

obliga-

PART I. A. D. 1066. obligations, and feeming attachment to the church, this parricidious zealot no fooner found himfelf eftablifhed upon the imperial throne than he maintained that right of inveftiture, in oppofition to which he had taken arms againft his father, and the exercife of which was thought to merit anathema fo frightful as to difturb the facred manfions of the dead.

In order to terminate that old difpute, Henry invited the pope into Germany. But Pafcal, who was well acquainted with the emperor's haughty and implacable difpofition, thought proper to take a different route, and put himfelf under the protection of Philip I. king of France, who undertook to mediate an accommodation between the empire and the Holy See. A conference was accordingly held at Chalons, in Champagne, but without effect.

After this unfuccefsful meeting, the pope held a
A.D. 1107. council at Troyes, and Henry convoked a diet at Mentz: the firft fupported Pafcal's pretenfions, and the laft declared for the emperor's right of inveftiture. But more weighty affairs demanding Henry's attention, the difpute was laid afide for a time. He was engaged for feveral years in wars with Hungary and Poland, which ended in the wearinefs of all parties, and left things nearly as at the beginning.

When tired of fighting, Henry thought of difputing: he was defirous of fettling his conteft with the pope; and, left force fhould be neceffary, he en-
A.D. 1111. tered Italy with an army of eighty thoufand men. Pafcal received him with the greateft appearance of cordiality, but would not renounce the claim of inveftitures; and Henry finding himfelf deceived in his expectations, ordered the pope to be feized. The conful put the citizens in arms, and a battle was fought

LETTER XXII.

fought within the walls of Rome. The Romans were defeated; and the carnage was ſo great, that the waters of the Tiber were ſtained with blood. Paſcal was taken priſoner, and became leſs inflexible. He crowned Henry, and confirmed him in the right of inveſtiture; dividing the hoſt with him, at the ſame time, in token of perfect reconciliation, and pronouncing the following anathema: "As this part of the vivi-"fying body," breaking it, "is ſeparated from the "other, let him of us two, who ſhall infringe the "treaty, be ſeparated from the kingdom of Chriſt[36]!" A.D. 1111.

BUT Henry had no ſooner left Italy than it appeared, that the court of Rome was by no means ſincere in the conceſſions it had made; for although Paſcal himſelf ſtill preſerved the exteriors of friendſhip and good faith, a council of the Lateran, called by him, ſet aſide the bull touching the inveſtiture of benefices, and ordered the emperor to be excommunicated. The clergy every where attempted to fill the vacant ſees, and the whole empire was again involved in trouble and diſſenſion. A.D. 1112.

A rebellion broke out in Saxony, which Henry was enabled to quell by the valour of his nephew, Frederic duke of Suabia and Alſace, whom he promoted to the ſupreme command of his army. In the mean time the counteſs Matilda dying, the emperor, as her neareſt relation, claimed the ſucceſſion, notwithſtanding the ſteps ſhe had taken in favour of the Holy See, alledging that it was not in her power to alienate her eſtates, which depended immediately upon the empire. He therefore ſet out for Lombardy, and ſent ambaſſadors to Rome, beſeeching the pope to revoke the ſentence of excommunication which had A.D. 1114. A.D. 1115.

36. *Chron.* Abb. St. Petri de Burgo. Padre Paulo, *Benef. Eccleſ.*

been

PART I. A.D. 1115. been fulminated againſt him, expreſsly contrary to their laſt agreement.

PASCAL would not ſo much as favour the ambaſſadors with an audience; but convoked a council, in which his treaty with the emperor was a ſecond time
A.D. 1116. condemned. Incenſed at ſuch arrogance, Henry advanced towards Rome, determined to make his authority reſpected; and the pope, well acquainted with his inflexible diſpoſition, took ſhelter among the Norman princes in Apulia, the new vaſſals and protectors of the church.

A.D. 1117. THE emperor entered Rome in triumph, and was crowned a ſecond time by Bardinus, archbiſhop of Prague, who attended him in this expedition. But Henry's preſence being neceſſary in Tuſcany, Paſcal privately returned to Rome, where he died in a few
A.D. 1118. days; and on the third day after his deceaſe, cardinal Cajetan was elected his ſucceſſor, without the privity of the emperor, under the name of Gelaſius II.

ENRAGED at this preſumption, Henry declared the election of Gelaſius void, and appointed in his place Bardinus, who aſſumed the name of Gregory VIII. revoked the ſentence of excommunication againſt the emperor, and confirmed his right of inveſtiture. Gelaſius, though ſupported by the Norman princes, was obliged to take refuge in France, where he died; and the archbiſhop of Vienne was elected
A.D. 1119. in his room, by the cardinals then preſent, under the name of Calixtus II.

CALIXTUS attempted an accommodation with Henry; which not ſucceeding, he called a council, and again excommunicated the emperor, the anti-
A.D. 1120. pope, and their adherents. He next ſet out for Rome, where he was honourably received, and Gregory VIII.

retired

retired to Sutri, a ſtrong town, garriſoned by the emperor's troops. They were not, however, able to protect him from the fury of his rival. Calixtus, aſſiſted by the Norman princes, beſieged Sutri; and the inhabitants, afraid of the conſequences, delivered up Gregory, who was mounted, by his competitor, upon a camel, with his face towards the tail, and conducted through the ſtreets of Rome, amid the ſcoffs and inſults of the populace, as a prelude to his confinement for life [37]. A.D. 1120.

In the mean time the ſtates of the empire, quite tired with this long quarrel between the popes and the emperors, unanimouſly ſupplicated Henry for peace. He referred himſelf entirely to their deciſion: and a diet being aſſembled at Worms, it was decreed, that an embaſſy ſhould immediately be ſent to the pope, deſiring that he would convoke a general council at Rome, by which all diſputes might be determined. Calixtus accordingly called the famous council, which was opened during Lent, and at which were preſent three hundred biſhops, and about ſeven hundred abbots. A.D. 1122.

The imperial ambaſſadors being heard before this grand aſſembly, the affair of inveſtitures was at length ſettled, with their conſent, on the following conditions:—"That, for the future, the biſhops and "abbots ſhall be choſen by the monks and canons; "but that his election ſhall be made in preſence of "the emperor, or of an ambaſſador appointed by him "for that purpoſe: that, in caſe a diſpute ariſe a- "mong the electors, the deciſion of it ſhall be left to "the emperor, who is to conſult with the biſhops on "that ſubject; that the *biſhop* or *abbot* elect ſhall take

37. Dithmar. *Hiſt. Bell. inter Imp. et Sacerdot.*

"an

PART I. A.D. 1122. "an *oath of allegiance* to the emperor, receive from his "hand the *regalia*, and do *homage* for them; that the "emperor ſhall no longer *confer* the *regalia* by the "ceremony of the *ring* and *croſier*, which are the *enſigns* of a *ghoſtly dignity*, but by that of the *ſceptre*, "as more proper to *inveſt* the perſon elected in the "*poſſeſſion* of *rights* and *privileges* merely *temporal*[38]."

THUS, in ſubſtituting the *ſceptre* for the *ring* and *croſier*, ended one of the moſt bloody quarrels that ever deſolated Chriſtendom. But as no mention had been made in this accommodation, of the emperor's right to create popes, or to intermeddle in their election, Calixtus, was no ſooner dead than the cardinals, A.D. 1124. clergy, and people of Rome, without the participation of Henry, proceeded to a new election, which was carried on with ſo much diſorder, that two perſons were elected at the ſame time; Theobald, called Celeſtin, and Lambert, biſhop of Oſtia, who aſſumed the name of Honorius II. Honorius was confirmed in the papacy, on the voluntary reſignation of his competitor.

A.D. 1125. HENRY died at Utrecht a few years after his accommodation with Rome. He was a wiſe, politic, and reſolute prince; and excluſive of his unnatural behaviour to his father, was worthy of the imperial throne. He married Maud, or Matilda, daughter of Henry I. king of England, by whom he had no children; ſo that the empire was left without a head.—But a variety of objects demand your attention, before I carry farther the affairs of Germany.

38. Padre Paolo, ubi ſup. Schilter *de Libertat. Eccleſ. German.* lib. iv.

LETTER XXIII.

ENGLAND, *from the Battle of* HASTINGS, *to the Death of* HENRY I.

YOU have already, my dear Philip, seen William, duke of Normandy, victorious at Hastings. Nothing could exceed the astonishment of the English nation; when made acquainted with the issue of that unfortunate battle—with the death of their king, and the slaughter of their principal nobility. And William, in order, to terminate an enterprise, which he knew celerity and vigour only could render finally successful, instantly put his army in motion, and advanced by forced marches to London. His approach increased the general alarm, and the divisions already prevalent in the English councils. The superior clergy, who even then were mostly French or Normans, began to declare in his favour; and the pope's bull, by which his undertaking was avowed and consecrated, was now openly offered as a reason for general submission. LETTER XXIII. A. D. 1066.

OTHER causes rendered it difficult for the English nation, destitute as it was of a head, to defend their liberties in this critical emergency. The body of the people had, in a great measure, lost their ancient pride and independent spirit, by their recent and and long subjection to the Danes; and as Canute had, in the course of his administration, much abated the rigors of conquest, and governed them equitably by their own laws, they regarded with less terror a foreign sovereign; and deemed the inconveniencies of admitting the pretensions of William less dreadful than those of bloodshed, war, and resistance. A repulse, which a party of Londoners received from five hundred Norman horse, renewed the terror of the great defeat at Hastings: the easy submission of all the inhabitants of

PART I. A.D. 1066.

Kent was an additional discouragement to them; and the burning of Southwark before their eyes, made the citizens of London dread a like fate for their capital. Few men longer entertained any thoughts but of immediate safety and self-preservation.

STIGAND, archbishop of Canterbury, met the conqueror at Barkhamstead, and made submissions to him: and before he reached London, all the chief nobility, with the weak Edgar Atheling, their lawful but deservedly neglected prince, came into William's camp, and declared their intention of yielding to his authority. They requested him to accept the crown, which they now considered as vacant; and orders were immediately issued to prepare every thing for the ceremony of his coronation. It was accordingly performed in Westminster-abbey, in presence of the most considerable nobility and gentry, both English and Norman, with seeming satisfaction [1]. This appearance of satisfaction, on the part of the former, if it contained any sincerity, must have been the effect of the conciliating manner in which the coronation ceremony was conducted. The duke of Normandy took the usual oath administered to the Anglo-Saxon kings at their inauguration; namely, "to preserve inviolate "the constitution, and govern according to the laws," before the crown was placed upon his head, and after the consent of all present had been asked and obtained [2].

1. Gul. Pictav. Orderic. Vital.

2. Ibid. Aware that such an oath would be demanded, and conscious that he must either violate it or relinquish the rights of conquest, William is said to have hesitated, whether he should accept the offer of the English crown from the nobility and clergy, or owe it solely to the sword. But his most experienced captains advised him to moderate his ambition; sensible that the people of England, when they saw they had to contend for their free constitution, and not merely for the person who should administer their government, would fight with duoble fury; (Gul. Pictav.) when they found that their dearest interests, their liberty, and property were at stake.

WILLIAM

LETTER XXIII.

A.D. 1067.

William thus possessed of the throne, by a pretended will of king Edward, and an irregular election of the people, abetted by force of arms, retired to Barking in Essex; where he received the submissions of all the nobility, who had not attended his coronation, and whom he generally confirmed in the possession of their lands and dignities, forfeiting only the estates of Harold, and those of his most active adherents. Every thing wore the appearance of peace and tranquillity. The new sovereign seemed solicitous to unite in an amicable manner the English and Normans, by intermarriages and alliances; and all his subjects, who approached his person, were received with affability and respect. No signs of suspicion appeared even in regard to Edgar Atheling, the natural heir to the crown. On the contrary, the king confirmed him in the honours of earl of Oxford, conferred on him by Harold, and affected on all occasions to treat him with the greatest kindness, as nephew to the Confessor, his friend and benefactor. He also confirmed the liberties and immunities of London, and all the other cities of England; and seemed, in a word, desirous of resting every thing on ancient foundations. In his whole administration he bore the semblance of the lawful prince, not of the conqueror; so that the English began to flatter themselves they had only changed the succession of their sovereigns, a matter which gave them little concern, without injury to the form of their government.

But William, notwithstanding this seeming confidence and friendship, which he expressed for his English subjects, took care to place all real power in the hands of the Normans, and still to keep possession of that sword to which he eventually owed his crown. He every where disarmed the inhabitants: he built

PART I. A. D. 1067.

fortresses in all the principal cities, where he quartered Norman soldiers; he bestowed the forfeited estates on the most powerful of his captains, and he established funds for the payment of his troops. While his civil administration wore the face of the legal magistrate, his military institutions were those of a master and a tyrant. And by this mixture of rigour and lenity, he so subdued and composed the minds of the people of England, that he ventured to visit his native country within six months after he had left it[3].

VARIOUS reasons have been assigned by historians for this extraordinary journey; for extraordinary it certainly was in William, as Normandy remained in perfect tranquillity, to absent himself so soon after the submission of a great, warlike, and turbulent nation. Some have ascribed it to ostentatious vanity, which made him impatient to display his pomp and magnificence among his ancient courtiers; while others, supposing him incapable of such weakness, affirm, That in this step, apparently so extravagant, he was guided by a concealed policy; that finding he could neither satisfy his rapacious captains, nor secure his unstable government, without seizing the possessions of the English nobility and gentry, he left them to the mercy of an insolent and licentious army in order to try their spirit, to provoke them to rebellion, and to give a colour to his intended usurpations. For my own part, I can see no reason why William, solid as his genius was, may not have been influenced by both these motives in undertaking his journey to Normandy. But whatever was the cause, the effect is certain; the English nobility and gentry revolted in consequence of the king's absence; and he thenceforth either embraced, or was more fully confirmed in the

3. Ibid.

resolution

resolution of seizing their lands, and of reducing them to the most abject condition. LETTER XXIII.

But although the natural violence and austerity of William's temper made him incapable of feeling any scruples in the execution of this tyrannical purpose, he had art enough to conceal his intention, and still to preserve some appearance of justice in his oppressions. He was prevailed on to pardon the rebels, who submitted themselves to his mercy; and he ordered all his English subjects, who had been arbitrarily expelled by the Normans during his absence, to be restored to their possessions. The public discontents, however, daily increased; and the injuries committed and suffered on both sides, rendered the quarrel between the victors and vanquished mortal. The insolence of imperious masters, dispersed throughout the kingdom, seemed intolerable to the natives, who took every opportunity to gratify their vengeance by the private slaughter of their enemies. Meanwhile an insurrection in the northern counties drew general attention, and seemed big with the most important events.

A.D. 1068.

Edwin and Morcar, the potent earls of Mercia and Northumberland, were the conductors of this attempt to shake off the Norman yoke. And these warlike noblemen, before they took arms, had stipulated for aid from Blethin, prince of North-Wales, Malcolm, king of Scotland, and Sweyn, king of Denmark. Aware of the importance of celerity in crushing a rebellion, supported by such powerful leaders, and in a cause so agreeable to the wishes of the body of the people, William, who had always his troops in readiness, marched northward with speed; and reached York before the hostile chieftains were prepared for action, or had received any succours, except a small reinforcement from Wales. Edwin and Morcar,

PART I. A.D. 1068.

therefore, found it neceſſary to have recourſe to the clemency of the king: and their adherents, thus deſerted, were unable to make any reſiſtance. But the treatment of the chieftains and their followers, after ſubmiſſion, was very different. William obſerved religiouſly the terms granted to the former, and allowed them for the preſent to keep poſſeſſion of their eſtates; but he extended the rigour of his confiſcations over the latter, and gave away their lands to his foreign adventurers, whom he planted throughout the whole country [4].

THE Engliſh were new convinced their final ſubjection was intended; and that, inſtead of a legal ſovereign, whom they had at firſt hoped to gain by their prompt ſubmiſſion, they had unwiſely ſurrendered themſelves to a maſter and a tyrant. The early confiſcation of the eſtates of Harold's followers ſeemed iniquitous, as the proprietors had never ſworn fealty to the duke of Normandy, and fought only in defence of the government which they themſelves had eſtabliſhed in their own country. Yet that rigour, how contrary ſoever to the ſpirit of the Anglo-Saxon laws, was excuſed on account of the urgent neceſſities of the victor: and they who were not involved in thoſe forfeitures, hoped to enjoy unmoleſted their poſſeſſions and their dignities. But the ſubſequent confiſcation of ſo many eſtates convinced them, that the Norman prince intended to rely ſolely, for the maintenance of his authority, on the ſupport and affection of foreigners. And they foreſaw new forfeitures and attainders, to be the neceſſary conſequences of this deſtructive plan of policy.

IMPRESSED with a ſenſe of their diſmal ſituation, many Engliſhmen fled into foreign countries; with an

4. Orderic. Vital. Sim. Dunelm.

intention

intention of paſſing their lives abroad, free from oppreſſion, or of returning on a favourable opportunity, to aſſiſt their friends in recovering their native liberties. Edgar Atheling himſelf, dreading the inſidious careſſes of William, made his eſcape into Scotland, and carried thither his two ſiſters Margaret and Chriſtina. They were well received by Malcolm III. then king of that country, who ſoon after eſpouſed Margaret, the elder ſiſter: and partly with a view of ſtrengthening his kingdom by the acceſſion of ſo many ſtrangers, partly in hopes of employing them againſt the growing power of William, he gave great countenance to all the Engliſh exiles [5]. Many of them ſettled in Scotland, and there laid the foundations of families, which afterward made a figure in that kingdom. LETTER XXIII. A. D. 1068.

While the people of England laboured under thoſe oppreſſions, new attempts were made for the recovery of their liberties. Godwin, Edmond, and Magnus, three ſons of Harold, had ſought a retreat in Ireland, after the defeat at Haſtings; and having met with a kind reception from Dermot, and other princes of that iſland, they projected an invaſion of England, and hoped that all the exiles from Denmark, Scotland, and Wales, aſſiſted by forces from theſe ſeveral countries, would at once commence hoſtilities, and rouſe the reſentment of the Engliſh nation againſt their haughty conquerors. They landed in Devonſhire, but found a body of Normans ready to oppoſe them; and being defeated in ſeveral rencounters, they were obliged to ſeek ſhelter in their ſhips, and return with great loſs into Ireland. A. D. 1069.

The ſtruggle, however, was not yet over: all the north of England was ſoon in arms. The Northum-

5. M. Paris. R. Hoveden.

PART I.
A.D. 1069.

brians, impatient of ſervitude, had attacked Robert de Comyn, governor of Durham, and put him and ſeven hundred of his adherents to death. This example animated the inhabitants of York, who ſlew Robert Fitz-Richard their governor, and beſieged in the caſtle William Mallet, on whom the chief command had devolved. About the ſame time the Daniſh ſuccours were landed from three hundred veſſels, under the command of Oſberne, brother to king Sweyn, accompanied by Harold and Canute, two ſons of that northern monarch. Edward Atheling alſo appeared from Scotland, and brought along with him a number of Engliſh noblemen, who had ſhared his exile, and who eaſily excited the warlike and diſcontented Northumbrians to a general inſurrection.

In order more effectually to provide for the defence of the citidal of York, Mallet ſet fire to ſome neighbouring houſes. But that expedient proved fatal to himſelf, and to every man under his command. The flames ſpreading into the adjacent ſtreets, reduced the whole city to aſhes; and the enraged inhabitants, aided by the Danes, took advantage of the confuſion to attack the fortreſs, which they carried by aſſault, and put the garriſon, amounting to three thouſand men, to the ſword. This ſucceſs ſerved as a ſignal of revolt to many other parts of the kingdom. The Engliſh every where repenting of their former too eaſy ſubmiſſion, ſeemed determined to make one great effort for the recovery of their liberty and the expulſion of their oppreſſors [6].

Undismayed amid that ſcene of confuſion, William aſſembled his forces, and animating them by the proſpect of new confiſcations and forfeitures, marched againſt the inſurgents in the North, whom he con-

6. Ord. Vital. Gul. Gemet. Sim. Dunelm.

ſidered

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ſidered as moſt formidable. Not chuſing, however, to truſt entirely to force, he endeavoured to weaken the rebels, by detaching the Danes from them. And he accordingly prevailed upon Oſberne, by large preſents, and the liberty of plundering the ſea-coaſt, to deſert his engagements. Many Engliſh noblemen, in deſpair, followed the unworthy example, made ſubmiſſions to the Conqueror, and were taken into favour. Malcolm, the Scottiſh king, coming too late to ſupport his confederates, was obliged to retire; ſo that the Normans found themſelves once more undiſputed maſters of the kingdom. Edgar Atheling and his followers again ſought an aſylum in Scotland; but deſpairing of ſucceſs, and weary of a fugitive life, that prince afterwards ſubmitted to his enemy, and was permitted to live unmoleſted in England [7]. A.D. 1069. A.D. 1070.

WILLIAM's ſeeming clemency, however, proceeded only from political conſiderations, or from his eſteem of individuals: his heart was hardened againſt all compaſſion toward the Engliſh as a people; and he ſcrupled no meaſure, how violent ſoever, which ſeemed requiſite to ſupport his plan of tyrannical adminiſtration. Acquainted with the reſtleſs diſpoſition of the Northumbrians, who had begun the revolt, and determined to incapacitate them from ever more moleſting him, he iſſued orders for laying waſte that fertile country, which, to the extent of ſixty miles, lies between the Humber and the Tees [8]. The houſes were reduced to aſhes by the unfeeling Normans; the cattle were ſeized and driven away; the inſtruments of huſbandry were deſtroyed; and the inhabitants were compelled either to ſeek a

7. Gul. Gemet. R. Hoveden.

8. *Chron. Sax.* W. Malmeſ. R. Hoveden. M. Paris. Sim. Dunelm.

ſubſiſtence

PART I. A. D. 1070.

ſubſiſtence in the ſouthern parts of Scotland, or to periſh miſerably in the woods from cold and hunger, which many of them choſe rather to do than abandon their native ſoil. The lives of an hundred thouſand perſons are computed to have been ſacrificed to this ſtroke of barbarous policy [9]: which, by ſeeking a remedy for a temporary evil, inflicted a laſting wound on the power and populouſneſs of the nation.

But William was now determined to proceed to extremities againſt all the natives of England, and to reduce them to a condition in which they ſhould be no longer formidable to his government. The inſurrections and conſpiracies, in different parts of the kingdom, had involved the bulk of the landholders, more or leſs, in the guilt of treaſon; and the king took advantage of executing againſt them, with the utmoſt rigour, the laws of forfeiture and attainder. Their lives were commonly ſpared, but their eſtates were confiſcated, and either annexed to the royal domain, or conferred with the moſt profuſe bounty on the Normans and other foreigners. Againſt a people thus devoted to deſtruction any ſuſpicion ſerved as the moſt undoubted proofs of guilt. It was crime ſufficient in an Engliſhman to be opulent, noble, or powerful: and the policy of the king concurring with the rapacity of needy adventurers, produced an almoſt total revolution in the landed property of the kingdom. Ancient and honourable families were reduced to beggary. The nobles were every where treated with ignominy and contempt: they had the mortification to ſee their caſtles and manors poſſeſſed by Normans of the meaneſt condition, and to find themſelves excluded from every road that led either to riches or preferment [10].

9. Order. Vital.

10. M. Weſt. Order. Vital.

Power naturally follows property. This change of landholders alone, therefore, gave great ſecurity to the Norman government. But William alſo took care, by the new inſtitutions that he eſtabliſhed, to retain for ever the military authority in thoſe hands which had enabled him to acquire the kingdom. He introduced into England the feudal polity, which he found eſtabliſhed in France and Normandy; and which, during that age, was the foundation both of the ſtability and of the diſorders in moſt of the monarchical governments of Europe. He divided all the lands of England, with few exceptions, beſide the royal domain, into baronies; and he conferred theſe, with the reſervation of ſtated ſervices and payments, on the moſt conſiderable of his followers. The barons, who held immediately of the crown, ſhared out part of their lands to other foreigners, who were denominated knights or vaſſals, and who paid their lord the ſame duty and ſubmiſſion, in peace and war, which he owed to his ſovereign. None of the native Engliſh were admitted into the firſt rank: the few, who retained any landed property, were therefore glad to be received into the ſecond; and under the protection of ſome powerful Norman, to load themſelves and their poſterity with a grievous ſervitude, for eſtates which had been tranſmitted free to them from their anceſtors [11].

William's next regulations regarded the church. He depoſed Stigand, the primate, and ſeveral other

11. M. Weſt. M. Paris. Bracton, lib. i. cap. 11. Fleta, lib. i. cap. 8. The proprietors of land, under the Anglo-Saxon princes, were only ſubjected to three obligations; namely, to attend the king with their followers in military expeditions, to aſſiſt in building or defending the royal caſtles, and to keep the highways and bridges in a proper ſtate of repair: (Hickeſi, *Diſſertat.* Spelman, *Reliquiæ*,) emphatically called the *three neceſſities*, as they certainly were in a government without regular troops, and almoſt without revenue.

English

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English bishops, by the assistance of Ermonfroy, the pope's legate; and as it was a fixed maxim in this reign, as well as in some of the subsequent, that no native of the island should ever be advanced to any dignity, ecclesiastical, civil, or military, the king promoted Lanfranc, a Milanese monk, to the see of Canterbury. That prelate professed the most devoted attachment to Rome, which thenceforth daily increased in England, and became very dangerous to some of William's successors; but the arbitrary power of the Conqueror over the English, and his extensive authority over the Normans, kept him from feeling any inconveniencies from it. He retained the clergy in great subjection, as well as his lay subjects, and would allow no person of any condition or character to dispute his absolute will and pleasure. None of his ministers or barons, whatever might be their offences, could be subjected to spiritual censures, until his consent was obtained. He prohibited his people to acknowledge any one for pope, whom he himself had not received; and he ordered, that all ecclesiastical canons, voted in any synod, should be submitted to him, and ratified by his authority, before they could be valid. Even bulls or letters from Rome, before they were produced, must receive the same sanction. And when the imperious Gregory VII. whom we have seen tyrannizing over kings and emperors, wrote to his monarch, requiring him to fulfil his promise of doing homage for the kingdom of England to the see of Rome, and to send him over that tribute which his predecessors had been accustomed to pay to the vicar of Christ (meaning *Peter's Pence*, a charitable donation of the Saxon princes, which the court of Rome, as usual, was inclined to construe into a badge of subjection acknowledged by the kingdom), William coolly replied, That the money should be remitted

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remitted as formerly, but that he neither had promised to do homage to Rome, nor entertained any thoughts of imposing that servitude on his kingdom. Nay he went so far as to refuse the English bishops liberty to attend a general council, which Gregory had summoned against his enemies [12].

The following anecdote shews, in a still stronger light, the contempt of this prince for ecclesiastical dominion. Odo, bishop of Bayeux, the king's maternal brother, whom he had created earl of Kent, and entrusted with a great share of power, had amassed immense riches; and, agreeable to the usual progress of human wishes, he began to regard his present eminence as only a step to future grandeur. He aspired at nothing less than the papacy, and had resolved to transmit all his wealth to Italy, and go thither in person, accompanied by several noblemen, whom he had persuaded to follow his example, in hopes of establishments under the future pope. William, from whom this project had been carefully concealed, was no sooner informed of it than he accused Odo of treason, and ordered him to be arrested; but nobody would lay hands on the bishop. The king himself was therefore obliged to seize him; and when Odo insisted, That, as a prelate, he was exempted from all temporal jurisdiction, William boldly replied, "I "arrest not the bishop; I arrest the earl!" and accordingly sent him prisoner into Normandy, where he was detained in custody, during this whole reign, notwithstanding the remonstrances and menaces of Gregory [13].

But the English had the cruel mortification to find, that their king's authority, how worthy soever of a sovereign,

12. *Ang. Sacra.* Eadmer. Ingulph. Order. Vital.

13. Ibid.

PART I. A.D. 1070. vereign, all tended to their oppreſſion, or to perpetuate their ſubjection. William had even entertained the difficult project of totally aboliſhing their language. He ordered the Engliſh youth to be inſtructed in the French tongue, in all the ſchools throughout the kingdom. The pleadings in the ſupreme courts of judicature were in French: the deeds were often drawn in the ſame language; the laws were compoſed in that idiom. No other tongue was uſed at court: it became the language of all faſhionable ſocieties; and the natives themſelves affected to excel in it [14]. To this attempt of the Conqueror, and to the foreign dominions ſo long annexed to the crown of England, we owe that predominating mixture of French at preſent to be found in our language.

WHILE William was thus wantonly exerciſing his tyranny over England, his foreign affairs fell into diſorder: and the Engliſh had an opportunity of at once recovering their military character, and of taking vengeance on the part of their foreign oppreſſors. Fulk, count of Anjou, had ſeized on the province of Maine, which had fallen under the dominion of the duke of Normandy, by the will of Herbert, the laſt A.D. 1073. count. But William, by the aſſiſtance of his new ſubjects, ſoon obliged the inhabitants, who had revolted, to return to their duty, and the count of Anjou to renounce his pretenſions [15].

THE king now paſſed ſome years in Normandy; where his preſence was become neceſſary on account of the turbulent diſpoſition of his ſon Robert, who openly aſpired at independency, and claimed the duchies of Normandy and Maine, during his father's life-

14. *Chron. Rothom.* Ingulph. *Hiſt.* p. 71. Hume, *Hiſt. Eng.* vol. i. Warton, *Hiſt. Eng. Poetry*, vol. i.

15. *Chron. Sax.* Order. Vital.

life-time. William gave him a poſitive refuſal, re- LETTER XXIII.
peating that homely ſaying, that he never intended
to throw off his cloaths till he went to bed. He ac- A. D. 1076.
cordingly called over an army of Engliſhmen, under
his ancient captains, who bravely expelled Robert and
his adherents. The prince took ſhelter in the caſtle
of Gerberoy in the Beauvoiſin, which the king of
France, who ſecretly favoured his pretenſions, had
provided for him. In this fortreſs he was cloſely be-
ſieged by his father, againſt whom he made a gallant
defence: and under the walls of that place many ren-
counters paſſed, which reſembled more the ſingle com-
bats of chivalry, than the military operations of ar-
mies. One of theſe was too remarkable, by its cir-
cumſtances and its event, to be omitted. Robert hap-
pened to encounter the king; who being concealed A. D. 1079.
by his helmet, a fierce combat enſued. But at laſt
the prince wounded his father in the arm, and threw
him from his horſe; when calling for aſſiſtance, his
voice diſcovered him to his ſon; who, ſtruck with a
ſenſe of remorſe, duty, and the dread of greater guilt,
inſtantly flung himſelf at the feet of his king and fa-
ther, craved pardon for his offences, and offered to
purchaſe forgiveneſs by any atonement. A return of
kindneſs, however, did not immediately enſue. Wil-
liam's military pride was wounded, and his reſent-
ment was too obſtinate at once to yield; but a recon-
ciliation was ſoon brought about by the interpoſition
of the queen, and other common friends [16].

The peaceable ſtate of William's affairs now gave
him leiſure to finiſh an undertaking which proves his
great and extenſive genius, and does honour to his
memory. It was a general ſurvey of all the lands of
England: their extent in each diſtrict, their proprie- A. D. 1081.

16. R. Hoveden. M. Paris. Order. Vital.

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A. D. 1081.

tors, tenures, value; the quantity of meadow, paſture, wood, and arable land, which they contained; and in ſome counties, the number of tenants, cottagers, and ſlaves of all denominations, who lived upon them. This valuable piece of antiquity, called the Domeſday-book, is ſtill preſerved in the Exchequer, and helps to illuſtrate to us the ancient ſtate of England.

WILLIAM, like all the Normans, was much attached to the manly amuſement of hunting: and his paſſion for this amuſement he cruelly indulged at the expence of his unhappy ſubjects. Not contented with thoſe large foreſts, which the Saxon kings poſſeſſed in all parts of England, he reſolved to make a new foreſt near Wincheſter, the uſual place of his reſidence. Accordingly, for that purpoſe, he laid waſte the country for an extent of thirty miles in Hampſhire, expelling the inhabitants from their houſes, ſeizing their property, and demoliſhing churches and convents, without making the ſufferers any compenſation for the injury [17]. He alſo increaſed the rigour of the game-laws, now become ſo grievous.

THIS monarch's death was occaſioned by a quarrel not altogether worthy of his life. A witticiſm gave riſe to a war. William, who was become corpulent, had been detained in bed ſome time by ſickneſs, while in Normandy; a circumſtance which gave Philip I. of France occaſion to ſay, with that vivacity natural to his country, that he was ſurpriſed his brother of England ſhould be ſo long in being delivered of his big belly. William, enraged at this levity, ſwore "by the brightneſs and reſurrection of

17. Gul. Malmeſ. H. Hunting. *Anglia Sacra*, vol. i.

"God!"

A. D. 1086.

"God!" his uſual oath, That, as ſoon as he was up, he would preſent ſo many *lights* at Notre Dame, as would give little pleaſure to the king of France; alluding to the uſual practice, at that time, of women carrying a torch to church after child-birth. Accordingly, on his recovery, he led an army into the Iſle of France, and laid every thing waſte with fire and ſword. But the progreſs of theſe hoſtilities was ſtopt, by an accident which put an end to the Engliſh monarch's life. His horſe ſuddenly ſtarting aſide, he bruiſed his belly on the pummel of his ſaddle; and this bruiſe, joined to his former bad habit of body, brought on a mortification, of which he died, in the ſixty-third year of his age[18]. He left Normandy and Maine to his eldeſt ſon, Robert: he wrote to Lanfranc deſiring him to crown William king of England; and he bequeathed to Henry, the youngeſt of the three, the poſſeſſions of his mother Matilda.

A. D. 1087.

The characters of princes are beſt ſeen in their actions: I ſhall, however, give you a conciſe character of the Conqueror; for ſuch he ultimately proved, though little more than a conditional ſovereign when he firſt received the ſubmiſſions of the Engliſh nation[19]. The ſpirit of William I. ſays a philoſophic hiſtorian, was bold and enterpriſing, yet guided by prudence; and his exorbitant ambition, which lay little under the reſtraints of juſtice, and ſtill leſs un-

18. M. Paris. M. Weſtminſt Order. Vital.

19. William acted ſo uniformly like a conqueror, that, before the end of his reign, there was not left one Engliſhman, who was either earl, baron, biſhop, or abbot. (Gul. Malmeſ. lib. iv. H. Hunt. lib. vii.) No revolution, ancient or modern, was ever perhaps attended with ſo complete and ſudden a change of power and property, as that accompliſhed by the duke of Normandy. Nor was the adminiſtration of any prince ever more abſolute than that of William I. though the government which he eſtabliſhed was by no means a deſpotiſm, but a feudal monarchy, as has been already ſhewn.

PART I. A.D. 1087.

der those of humanity, ever submitted to the dictates of reason and sound policy. Though not insensible to generosity, he was hardened against compassion; and he seemed equally ostentatious, and ambitious of eclat, in his clemency and in his vengeance.

WILLIAM II. surnamed Rufus, or the Red, from the colour of his hair, was instantly crowned king of England, in consequence of his father's recommendatory letters to Lanfranc, the primate; and Robert, at the same time, took peaceable possession of Normandy.

BUT this partition of the Conqueror's dominions, though apparently made without any violence or opposition, occasioned in England many discontents, which seemed to promise a sudden revolution. The Norman barons, who generally possessed large estates both in England and their own country, were uneasy at the separation of those territories, and foresaw that as it would be impossible for them to preserve long their allegiance to two masters, they must necessarily resign either their ancient property or their new acquisitions. Robert's title to Normandy they esteemed incontestible: his claim to England they thought plausible; and they all desired that this prince, who alone had any pretensions to unite the duchy and kingdom, might be put in possession of both[20].

A COMPARISON between the personal qualities of the two princes, also led the malcontents to prefer the elder. Robert was brave, open, sincere, generous; whereas William, though not less brave than his brother, was violent, haughty, tyrannical, and

20. Orderic. Vital.

seemed

ſeemed diſpoſed to govern more by fear than the love of his people. Odo, biſhop of Baieux, who had been releaſed from priſon on the death of the Conqueror, enforced all theſe motives with the diſſatisfied barons, and engaged many of them in a formal conſpiracy to dethrone the king. A.D. 1088.

EXPECTING immediate ſupport from Normandy, the conſpirators haſtened to put themſelves in a military poſture: and William, ſenſible of his perilous ſituation, endeavoured to provide againſt the threatening danger by gaining the affections of the native Engliſh; who zealouſly embraced his cauſe, upon receiving ſome general promiſes of good treatment, and leave to hunt in the royal foreſts, having now loſt all hopes of recovering their ancient liberties. By their aſſiſtance the king was enabled to ſubdue the rebels; but the Norman barons, who had remained faithful to him, only were the gainers. He paid no regard to the promiſes made to his Engliſh ſubjects, who ſtill found themſelves expoſed to the ſame oppreſſions which they had experienced during the reign of the Conqueror, and which were augmented by the tyrannical temper of the preſent monarch [21]. Even the privileges of the church, which were held ſo ſacred in thoſe days, formed but a feeble rampart againſt the uſurpations of William; yet the terror of his authority, confirmed by the ſuppreſſion of the late inſurrections, kept every one in ſubjection, notwithſtanding the murmurs of the clergy, and preſerved general tranquillity in England. A.D. 1089.

21. *Chron. Sax.* Gul. Malmeſ. lib. iv. The application of William, however, and the ſervice they had rendered him, made the natives ſenſible of their importance by reaſon of their numbers: and they gradually recovered their conſequence in the courſe of the ſtruggles between the king and the nobles.

PART I. A.D. 1089. WILLIAM even thought himſelf ſufficiently powerful to diſturb his brother in the poſſeſſion of Normandy, and bribed ſeveral Norman barons to favour his unjuſt claim. The duke had alſo reaſon to apprehend danger from the intrigues of his brother Henry, who inherited more of his father's money than his poſſeſſions, and had furniſhed Robert, during his preparations againſt England, with the ſum of three thouſand marks; in return for which ſlender ſupply, he had been put in poſſeſſion of the Cotentin, almoſt one-third of the duke's dominions. But theſe two brothers, notwithſtanding their mutual jealouſies, now united, in order to defend their territories againſt A.D. 1090. the ambition of the king of England, who appeared in Normandy at the head of a numerous army: and affairs ſeemed to be haſtening to extremity, when an accommodation was brought about by the interpoſition of the nobility.

PRINCE Henry, however, diſguſted at the terms of that agreement, in which he thought himſelf treated with neglect, retired to St. Michael's Mount, a ſtrong fortreſs on the coaſt of Normandy, and infeſted the neighbouring country with his incurſions. Robert and William, his two brothers, beſieged him in this place, and had nearly obliged him to ſurrender by reaſon of the ſcarcity of water; when the elder, hearing of his brother's diſtreſs, granted him permiſſion to obtain a ſupply, and alſo ſent him ſome pipes of wine for his own table; a conduct which could only have been dictated by the generous but romantic ſpirit of chivalry that prevailed in thoſe times, and with which the duke was ſtrongly infected. Being reproved by William for this imprudent generoſity, Robert replied, "What! ſhall I ſuffer my brother "to die of thirſt?—Where ſhall we find another brother, when he is gone?"

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WILLIAM, during this siege, also performed an act of generosity less suited to his character. Riding out alone to survey the fortress, he was attacked by two soldiers, and dismounted. One of the soldiers drew his sword, in order to dispatch the king. "Hold "knave!" cried William, "I am the king of Eng-"land." The soldier suspended his blow, and raised the king from the ground; who, charmed with the fellow's behaviour, rewarded him handsomely, and took him into his service [22]. A. D. 1090.

PRINCE Henry was at last obliged to capitulate: and being despoiled of all his dominions, wandered about for some time with very few attendants, and often in great poverty. A. D. 1091.

IN the mean time William was engaged in humbling the Scots and Welsh, who had infested England with their incursions during his Norman expedition. He had also occasion to quell a conspiracy of his own barons, who meant to exalt to the throne Stephen, count of Aumale, nephew to the Conqueror. But the noise of these petty wars and commotions was quite sunk in the tumult of the Crusades, which then engaged the attention of all Europe, and have since attracted the curiosity of mankind, as the most singular examples of human folly that were ever exhibited on the face of our globe. The cause and consequences of those pious enterprises I shall afterwards have occasion to consider; at present I shall only speak of them as they affect the history of England. A. D. 1095.

ROBERT, duke of Normandy, impelled by the bravery and mistaken generosity of his spirit, had early enlisted himself in the first crusade; but being always

22. Gul. Malmes. ubi sup. M. Paris. R. Hoveden.

PART I.

A. D. 1095. unprovided with money, he found it would be impossible for him, without some supply, to appear, in a manner suitable to his rank, at the head of his numerous vassals, who, transported with the general fury, were desirous of following him into Asia. He therefore resolved to mortgage, or to sell his dominions, which he had not prudence to govern; and he offered them to his brother William, who kept aloof from all those fanatical and romantic warriors, for so small a sum as ten thousand marks[23]. The bargain was

A. D. 1096. concluded, and William was put in possession of Normandy and Maine; while Robert, providing himself with a magnificent train, set out for the Holy Land in pursuit of glory, and in full hopes of securing his eternal salvation.

In the mean time William, who regarded only the things of this world, was engaged in a quarrel with Anselm, commonly called St. Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, a Piedmontese monk, whom he had called over in a fit of remorse, and whom he wanted to deprive of his see for refractory behaviour. Anselm appealed to Rome against the king's injustice, and affairs came to such extremities, that the primate, finding it dangerous to remain in the kingdom, desired permission

A. D. 1097. to retire beyond sea. It was granted him, but all his temporalities were confiscated. He was nevertheless received with great respect by Urban II. who considered him as a martyr in the cause of religion, and even threatened the king with the sentence of excommunication on account of his proceedings against the primate[24].

23. Our old historians are not agreed in regard to the particulars of this transaction; but the ten thousand marks seem to have been paid for a mortgage, or uninterrupted possession, of five years. Vide Eadmer. M. Paris. Order. Vital.

24. Ibid.

A.D. 1097.

ANSELM afterwards diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the council of Bari, where the famous diſpute between the Greek and Latin churches, relative to the *proceſſion* of the Third perſon of the Trinity was agitated; namely, Whether the Holy Ghoſt proceeds from the Father and the Son, or from the Father only. He alſo aſſiſted in a council at Rome, where ſpiritual cenſures were denounced againſt all eccleſiaſtics who did homage to laymen for their benefices, and on all laymen who exacted ſuch homage. The arguments made uſe of on that occaſion, in favour of the clergy, are worthy of the ignorance of the age, and ſtrongly mark the groſs ſuperſtition into which the human mind was ſunk. A.D. 1099.

THE ceremony of homage, by the feudal cuſtoms, as I have had occaſion to obſerve, was, That the vaſſal ſhould throw himſelf on his knees, put his hands between thoſe of his ſuperior, and in that poſture ſwear fealty to him. Churchmen had been accuſtomed thus to do homage for their benefices. But this council declared ſuch homage inconſiſtent with the dignity of the ſacerdotal character, as well as with the independency of the church: "For," ſaid Urban, "it is execrable, that holy hands, appointed to perform what was never granted to any angel, to create God the Creator, and offer him to God, his Father, for the ſalvation of mankind, ſhould be reduced to the humiliating baſeneſs of ſlaviſhly mingling with profane hands; which, beſides being ſoiled with rapine and blood-ſhed, are day and night employed in impure offices, and obſcene contacts [25]!"

25. Fleury, *Hiſt. Eccleſ. Anglia Sacra*, vol. i. Eadmer. Brompton. Sim. Dunelm. Eadmerius, who was preſent at that council, tells us, that on the cloſe of this impious ſpeech of His Holineſs, all the venerable fathers cried "*Amen! Amen!*"

PART I.
A. D. 1099.

The fanaticifm of the times afforded the king of England a fecond opportunity of increafing his dominions. Poitiers and Guienne were offered to be mortgaged to him, for the fame pious purpofe that had induced his brother Robert to put him in poffeffion of Normandy and Maine. The bargain was concluded, and William had prepared a fleet and army to efcort the money, ftipulated as the price of his new territory, and to fecure the poffeffion of it, when an accident put an end to his life, and to all his ambitious projects. He was engaged in hunting, the fole amufement, and, except war, the chief occupation of princes in thofe rude times, when this accident happened. Walter Tyrrel, a French gentleman, remarkable for his addrefs in archery, attended him in that recreation, of which the New Foreft was the fcene; and as William had difmounted after the chace, Tyrrel, impatient to fhew his dexterity, let fly an arrow at a ftag, which fuddenly ftarted before him. The arrow glancing againft a tree, ftruck the king to the heart, and inftantly killed him; while Tyrrel, without informing any one of the accident, put fpurs to his horfe, haftened to the fea-fhore, embarked for France, and joined the crufade in an expedition to the Holy-land[26]: a penance which he impofed on himfelf for this involuntary crime, and which was deemed fufficient to expiate crimes of the blackeft dye.

A. D. 1100.

William II. though a man of found underftanding, appears to have been a violent and tyrannical prince; a perfidious, encroaching, and dangerous neighbour, and an unkind and ungenerous relation. His vices, however, have probably been much exaggerated by

26. Chron. Sax. R. Hoveden. H. Hunt.

the

the monkiſh writers, the only hiſtorians of thoſe times, as he was utterly void of ſuperſtition, and ſeemingly wanting in a decent reſpect for religion. Of this many examples might be produced, but one will be ſufficient. When the body of the clergy preſented a petition, that he would give them leave to ſend a form of prayer to be uſed in all the churches of England, "That God would move the heart of the king "to appoint an archbiſhop!" he having kept the revenues, or temporalities of the ſee of Canterbury in his own hands almoſt five years, he careleſsly replied, "You may pray as you pleaſe, and I will act as I "pleaſe[27]." Had he lived a few years longer, he would greatly have enlarged his dominions; and as he was the moſt powerful and politic prince in Europe, he might perhaps have become its arbiter. He built the Tower, Weſtminſter-hall, and London-bridge, monuments of his greatneſs, which ſtill remain. His moſt liberal meaſure was the ſending of an army into Scotland, in order to reſtore prince Edgar, the true heir of that crown, the ſon of Malcolm III. ſurnamed Canmore, by Margaret, ſiſter of Edgar Atheling. The enterprize ſucceeded.

Toward the latter part of this reign, Magnus king of Norway made a deſcent on the Iſle of Angleſea, but was beat off by the earl of Shrewſbury. Since that repulſe the northern nations have made no attempt againſt England.

As William Rufus was never married, and conſequently could leave no lawful iſſue, the kingdom of England now belonged to his brother Robert, both by the right of birth and of ſolemn compact, ratified by

27. Gul. Malmeſ. p. 124. col. i.

PART I. A.D. 1100.

the nobility. But as prince Henry was hunting in the New Foreſt when the king was ſlain, he immediately galloped to Wincheſter; ſecured the royal treaſure, was ſaluted king, and proceeded to the exerciſe of the ſovereign authority. Senſible, however, that a crown uſuped againſt all the rules of juſtice would ſit very unſteady on his head, Henry reſolved, by fair profeſſions at leaſt, to gain the affections of all his ſubjects. Beſides taking the uſual coronation oath, to maintain the conſtitution, and to execute juſtice, he paſſed a charter, which was calculated to remedy many of the grievous oppreſſions complained of during the reign of his father and his brother: and he promiſed a general confirmation and obſervance of the laws of Edward the Confeſſor[28].

In order farther to eſtabliſh himſelf on the throne, the king recalled archbiſhop Anſelm, and reinſtated him in the ſee of Canterbury. He alſo married Matilda, daughter of Malcolm III. king of Scotland, and niece to Edgar Atheling. And this marriage, more than any other meaſure of his reign, tended to endear Henry to his Engliſh ſubjects; who had felt ſo ſeverely the tyranny of the Normans, that they reflected with infinite regret on their former liberty, and hoped for a more equal and mild adminiſtration, when the blood of their native princes ſhould be united with that of the new ſovereigns[29]. But the policy and prudence of Henry I. ran great hazard of being fruſtrated by the ſudden appearance of his brother Robert, who returned from the Holy Land about a month after the death of William II. took poſſeſſion of Normandy without reſiſtance, and made preparations for aſſerting his title to the crown of England.

28. M. Paris. R. Hagulſtad. 29. M. Paris. R. Hoveden.

THE

LETTER XXIII.

A.D. 1100.

The great reputation which Robert had acquired in the East favoured his pretenſions; and the Norman barons, ſtill impreſſed with apprehenſions of the conſequences of the ſeparation of the duchy and kingdom, diſcovered the ſame diſcontent which had appeared on the acceſſion of Rufus. Henry was, therefore, in danger of being deſerted by all his ſubjects: and it was only through the exhortations of archbiſhop Anſelm, that they were engaged to oppoſe Robert, who had landed at Portſmouth. The two armies continued ſome days in ſight of each other without coming to action; and by the interpoſition of the ſame prelate, an accommodation was happily brought about between the brothers. A.D. 1101.

In this treaty it was agreed, That Robert ſhould reſign his pretenſions to England, and receive an annual penſion of three thouſand marks; that if either of the princes died without iſſue, the other ſhould ſucceed to his dominions; that the adherents of each ſhould be pardoned, and reſtored to all their poſſeſſions, and that neither the king nor the duke ſhould thenceforth countenance the enemies of each other[30]. But theſe conditions, though ſo favourable to Henry, were ſoon violated by his rapacity and ambition. He reſtored indeed the eſtates of Robert's adherents, but took care they ſhould not remain long in the undiſturbed poſſeſſion of them. Various pretences were formed for deſpoiling and humbling all whom he thought had either inclination or abilities to diſturb his government.

Enraged at the fate of his friends, Robert imprudently ventured into England, but met with ſuch

30. *Chron. Sax.* Order. Vital.

a bad

PART I. A.D. 1101. a bad reception, that he became alarmed for his own safety, and was glad to purchase his escape with the loss of his pension. One indiscretion followed another. The affairs of Normandy fell into confusion: Henry went over, by invitation, to regulate them; but, instead of supporting his brother's authority, he increased the discontents by every art of bribery, intrigue, and insinuation, and at length made himself master of the duchy. The unfortunate Robert, who A.D. 1106. seemed born only to be the sport of fortune, was carried prisoner into England; where he remained in custody during the remainder of his life, which was no less than twenty-eight years, and died a captive in the castle of Cardiff, in Glamorganshire[31].

THE acquisition of Normandy was a great point of Henry's ambition, being the ancient patrimonial inheritance of his family, and the only territory which gave him any weight or consideration on the continent. But the injustice of the usurpation was the source of much inquietude, and the jealousy of the French monarch gave rise to those wars which were to prove so fatal to posterity. Lewis VI. in concert with the counts of Anjou and Flanders, supported the claim of William, son of Robert, to the duchy of Normandy: he even craved the assistance of the church for reinstating the true heir in his dominions, and represented the enormity of detaining in prison so brave a prince as Robert, one of the most eminent champions of the Cross. But Henry knew how to defend the rights of his crown with vigour, and yet with dexterity. He detached the count of Anjou from the alliance, by contracting his eldest son, William, to that prince's daughter, while he gained the pope and his favourites by

31. *Annal. Waverl.* Gul. Malmesb. lib. v.

liberal

A.D. 1119.

liberal presents and promises. Calixtus II. who was then in France, declared, after a conference with Henry, that of all men, whom he had ever seen, the king of England was beyond comparison the most *eloquent* and *persuasive*[32]. The complaints of the Norman prince were thenceforth disregarded.

The military operations of Lewis proved as unsuccessful as his intrigues. The French and English armies engaged near Andeley, in Normandy; where a sharp action ensued, in which William, the son of Robert, behaved with great bravery. Henry himself was in imminent danger. He was wounded in the head by a gallant Norman, named Crispin, who had followed the fortunes of William; but, rather roused than intimidated by the blow, the king collected all his might, and beat his antagonist to the ground[33]. The English, animated by the example of their sovereign, put the French to total rout; and an accommodation soon after took place between the two monarchs, in which the interests of young William were entirely neglected.

But Henry's public prosperity was much overbalanced by a domestic misfortune. His son William, who had attained his eighteenth year, had accompanied him into Normandy, but perished in his return, with all his retinue. The royal youth was anxious to get first to land; and the captain of his vessel, being intoxicated with liquor, heedlessly ran her on a rock, where she was immediately dashed to pieces. Beside the prince, above one hundred and forty young noblemen, of the principal families of England and Normandy, were lost on this occasion. The king was

A.D. 1120.

32. M. Paris. H. Hunting. 33. Ibid.

so

PART I. A.D. 1120. ſo much affected by the news, that he is ſaid never to have ſmiled more[34].

As prince William left no children, Henry had now no legitimate iſſue, except his daughter Matilda, whom he had betrothed when a child to the emperor Henry V. who alſo dying without children, the king A.D. 1127. beſtowed his daughter on Geoffery Plantagenet, the eldeſt ſon of the count of Anjou, and endeavoured to ſecure her ſucceſſion, by having her recognized heireſs of all his dominions: and he obliged the barons both of Normandy and England to ſwear fealty to her. A.D. 1133. After ſix years ſhe was delivered of a ſon, who received the name of Henry; and the king, farther to inſure the ſucceſſion, made all the nobility renew the oath of fealty which they had already ſworn to her, and alſo to ſwear fealty to her infant ſon[35].

The joy of this event, and the pleaſure of his daughter's company, made Henry take up his reſi- A.D. 1135. dence in Normandy; where he died in the ſixty-ſeventh year of his age, and the thirty-fifth of his reign, leaving his daughter Matilda heireſs of all his dominions. He was one of the moſt able and accompliſhed princes that ever filled the Engliſh throne, poſſeſſing all the qualities, both mental and perſonal, that could adorn the high ſtation to which he attained, or fit him for the government of an extenſive territory. His learning, which procured him the name of *Beauclerc*, or the *fine ſcholar*, would have diſtinguiſhed him in private life, and his talents would have given him an aſcendant in any condition.

The affairs of France, my dear Philip, and the Cruſades, which took their riſe in that kingdom, claim

34. R. Hoveden. 35. Ypod. Neuſt. R. de Diceto.

your

your attention, before I ſpeak of the diſputed ſucceſſion of Matilda, and of her ſon Henry II. commonly known by the name of Plantagenet, whoſe reign affords ſome of the moſt intereſting ſpectacles in the Hiſtory of England. In the mean time it will be proper to take a ſlight review of the change produced in our ancient conſtitution, and in the condition of our Saxon anceſtors, by the Norman conqueſt or revolution.

POSTSCRIPT.

THE original government of the Anglo-Saxons, as we have ſeen, was a kind of military democracy, under a king or chief, whoſe authority was very limited, and whoſe office was not ſtrictly hereditary, but depended on the will of the people. This government they brought into Britain with them. Matters of ſmall conſequence were ſettled by the king in council; but all affairs of general concern or national importance, the making of laws, the impoſing of taxes, the declaring of war, were laid before the Wittenagemot or parliament, and determined by the majority of voices, or at leaſt by the preponderation of public opinion[36].

FROM that aſſembly no freeman could be ſaid to be excluded; for although a certain portion of land was neceſſary as a qualification, a huſbandman or tradeſman no ſooner acquired that portion, which was different at different times of the Anglo-Saxon government[37], than he had a right to be preſent, not only as a ſpectator, a privilege that was common to

36. Spelman, *Gloſſ.* in voc. *Wittenagemot.*
37. It was originally only five hides, but was raiſed by degrees as high as forty.

every

PART I. every one, but as a conſtituent member of the Wittenagemot. And all merchants, who had made two voyages to foreign countries, on their own account, became poſſeſſed of the ſame right, by a law paſſed in the reign of king Athelſtan[38]; ſo that our Anglo-Saxon anceſtors might make with *truth* the glorious boaſt of modern Engliſhmen, That, every member of the community ſhared with his ſovereign the power and authority by which he was governed. Little wonder, therefore, that the great lines of this ennobling ſyſtem of freedom, long after it was deſtroyed, ſeemed to be engraved in their hearts, by the keen ſorrow with which it was regretted!

If the Anglo-Saxons, as a nation, had reaſon to think themſelves happy in their deliberative and legiſlative, they were no leſs ſo in their juridical capacity. Juſtice was univerſally the care of the great body of the people: and a regular chain of appeal was eſtabliſhed from the tithing or decennary, conſiſting of ten families, up to the Wittenagemot, which was a ſupreme court of law, as well as a national council or aſſembly. But the grand ſecurity of juſtice, and even of liberty and property, was the court called the *ſhiremote*, held twice a year in every county, at a ſtated time and place; where, along with the alderman or earl of the ſhire, and the biſhop of the dioceſe, all the clergy and landholders of the county, were obliged to be preſent, and determined, by the majority of voices, all cauſes brought before them, in whatever ſtage of their progreſs; beginning with the cauſes of the church, taking next under cognizance the pleas of the crown, and laſtly the diſputes of private perſons[39].

38. Wilkins, *Leges Saxon.* Selden, *Tit. Hon.*
39. Spelman, *Reliquiæ.* Hickeſi, *Diſſertat. Epiſt.*

As

LETTER XXIII.

As the duke of Normandy, by taking the uſual oath adminiſtered to the Anglo-Saxon kings at their coronation, had ſolemnly engaged to maintain the conſtitution, and to adminiſter juſtice according to the laws, the Engliſh nation had reaſon to believe they had merely changed their native ſovereign for one of foreign extraction; a matter to them of ſmall concern, as I have had occaſion to obſerve, eſpecially as the line of ſucceſſion had been already broken by the uſurpation or election of Harold. But although William affected moderation for a while, and even adopted ſome of the laws of Edward the Confeſſor, in order to quiet the apprehenſions of his new ſubjects, to theſe laws he paid little regard; and no ſooner did he find himſelf firmly eſtabliſhed on the throne, than he utterly ſubverted the form of government, and the manner of adminiſtering juſtice, throughout the whole kingdom. The government which he ſubſtituted was a rigid feudal monarchy, or military ariſtocracy, in which a regular chain of ſubordination and ſervice was eſtabliſhed, from the ſovereign or commander in chief, to the ſerf or villain; and which, like all feudal governments, was attended with a grievous depreſſion of the body of the people, who were daily expoſed to the inſults, violences, and exactions of the nobles, whoſe vaſſals they all were, and from whoſe oppreſſive juriſdiction it was difficult and dangerous for them to appeal.

THIS depreſſion, as might be expected, was more complete and humiliating in England, under the firſt Anglo-Norman princes, than in any other feudal government. William I. by his artful and tyrannical policy, by attainders and confiſcations, had become, in the courſe of his reign, proprietor of almoſt all the lands in the kingdom. Theſe lands, however, he could not retain, had he been even willing, in his

 own

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own hands: he was under the neceſſity of beſtowing the greater part of them on his Norman captains or nobles, the companions of his conqueſt and the inſtruments of his tyranny, who had led their own vaſſals to battle [39]. But thoſe grants he clogged with heavy feudal ſervices, and payments or preſtations, which no one dared to refuſe. He was the general of a victorious army, which was ſtill obliged to continue in a military poſture, in order to ſecure the poſſeſſions it had ſeized. And the Anglo-Norman barons, and tenants *in capite*, by knights-ſervice, who only held immediately of the crown, and with the dignified clergy, formed the *national aſſembly*, impoſed obligations yet more ſevere on their vaſſals, the inferior landholders, conſiſting chiefly of unhappy Engliſh gentlemen, as well as on the body of the people, for whom they ſeemed to have no bowels of compaſſion [40].

BUT

39. Nothing can more ſtrongly indicate that neceſſity, than the following anecdote. Earl Warren, when queſtioned, in a ſubſequent reign, concerning his right to the lands he poſſeſſed, boldly drew his ſword. "This," ſaid he, "is my title!—William the Baſtard did not "conquer England himſelf: the Norman barons, and my anceſtor, a-"mong the reſt, were joint adventurers in the enterprize." Dugdale, *Baronage*, vol. i.

40. The ſtate of England, at the death of William the Conqueror, is thus deſcribed by one of our ancient hiſtorians, who was almoſt cotemporary with that prince. "The Normans," ſays he, "had now "fully executed the wrath of Heaven upon the Engliſh. There was "hardly *one* of that nation who poſſeſſed any *power*; they were *all* in-"volved in *ſervitude* and *ſorrow*; inſomuch, that to be called an *Engliſh-*"*man* was conſidered as a *reproach*. In thoſe miſerable times many *op-*"*preſſive taxes* and *tyrannical cuſtoms* were *introduced*. The *king himſelf*, "when he had let his lands at their full value, if another tenant came "and offered more, and afterward a third, and offered ſtill more, *vio-*"*lated* all his *former pactions*, and *gave* them to him who offered *moſt*: "and the great men were *inflamed* with ſuch a *rage* for *money*, that they "cared not by what *means* it was *acquired*. The more they talked of "juſtice, the more injuriouſly they acted. Thoſe who were called "*juſticiaries*," alluding moſt likely to the barons in their courts, "were "the *fountains* of all *iniquity*. Sheriffs and judges, whoſe peculiar duty "it was to pronounce righteous judgments, were the moſt *cruel* of all "*tyrants*, and greater *plunderers* than common *thieves* and *robbers*." (Hen. Hunting.

LETTER XXIII.

But the rigour of the Anglo-Norman government, and the tyrannical and licentious ſpirit of the nobles, proved ultimately favourable to general liberty. The oppreſſed people looked up to the king for protection: and circumſtances enabled them to obtain it. The defect in the title of William II. and of Henry I. induced them to liſten to the complaints of their Engliſh ſubjects, and to redreſs many of their grievances. The people, in ſome meaſure ſatisfied with the relief afforded them, became ſenſible of their conſequence, and of their obligations to the crown; while the barons, finding themſelves in quiet poſſeſſion of their Engliſh eſtates, and apprehending no future diſturbance from the natives, bore with impatience the burdens impoſed upon them by William I. and to which they had readily ſubmitted, in the hour of conqueſt and of danger. They ſaw the neceſſity of being more

Hunting. lib. viii.) And the author of the Saxon Chronicle, in ſpeaking of the miſeries of a ſubſequent reign, ſays that the great barons "*grievouſly oppreſſed* the *poor people* with building caſtles; and when they "were built, they filled them with wicked men or rather devils, who "*ſeized* both *men* and *women* ſuppoſed to be *poſſeſſed* of any *money*; threw "them into priſon, and put them to *more cruel tortures* than the *martyrs* ever *endured*." (*Chron. Sax.* p. 238.) The truth of this melancholy deſcription is corroborated by the teſtimony of William of Malmſbury. *Hiſt.* lib. ii.

The great power and ſucceſs of the Normans made them licentious as well as tyrannical. This licentiouſneſs was ſo great, that the princeſs Matilda, daughter of Malcolm Canmore, king of Scotland, who had received her education in England, and was afterward married to Henry I. thought it neceſſary to wear the religious habit, in order to preſerve her perſon from violation. Before a great council of the Anglo-Norman clergy, ſhe herſelf declared, That ſhe had been induced by no other motive to put on the veil. And the council admitted her plea, in the following memorable words:—"When *the great King William conquered this land*, many of his followers, elated with their extraordinary "ſucceſs, and thinking that *all things* ought to be *ſubſervient* to their *will* "and *pleaſure*, not only *ſeized* the *poſſeſſions* of the *vanquiſhed*, but *invaded* "the *honour* of their *matrons* and *virgins*. Hence many young ladies, "who *dreaded* ſuch *violence*, were induced to ſeek ſhelter in *convents*, and "even to take the *veil* as a *farther ſecurity* to their *virtue*." Eadmer *Hiſt.* lib. iii.

 indulgent,

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indulgent to their vassals, in order to obtain sufficient force to enable them to retrench the prerogatives of the sovereign, and of connecting their cause with that of the people. And the people, always formidable by their numbers, courted by both parties, and sometimes siding with one, sometimes with the other, in the bloody contest between the king and the barons, recovered by various progressive steps, which I shall have occasion to trace in the course of my narration, their ancient and natural right to a place in the parliament or national assembly.

THUS restored to a share in the legislature, the English commonalty felt more fully their own importance; and by a long and vigorous struggle, maintained with unexampled perseverance, they wrested from both the king and the nobles, all the other rights of a free people, of which their Anglo-Saxon ancestors had been robbed by the violent invasion, and cruel policy of William the Norman. To those rights they were entitled as men, by the great law of nature and reason, which declares the *welfare* of the *whole* community to be the end of all civil government; and as Englishmen, by inheritance. In whatever light, therefore, we view the privileges of the commons they are RESUMPTIONS not USURPATIONS.

IN order to establish this important political truth, some of our popular writers have endeavoured to prove, That the people of England were by no means robbed of their liberty or property by William I. and that the *commons* had a *share* in the *legislature* under *all* the Anglo-Norman princes. But as this position cannot be maintained without violating historical testimony, the advocates for prerogative have had greatly the advantage in that contentious dispute.

pute[41]. I have therefore made the usurpations of William, in violation of his coronation oath, the basis of my argument. Usurpation can create no right, nor the exercise of illegal authority any prerogative. LETTER XXIII.

LETTER XXIV.

FRANCE, *under* PHILIP I. *and* LEWIS VI. *with some Account of the first* CRUSADE.

PHILIP I. as I have already observed[1], had been perfectly well educated. Nor was he by any means deficient in point of capacity; but his mind had acquired a wrong bias, which discovered itself in all his actions, and swayed him upon all occasions, to prefer his interest, or his inclinations, to his honour. His reign is not so remarkable for any thing, as his marrying Bertrand de Montford, duchess of Anjou, while her husband and his queen were both alive. For this irregularity he was excommunicated by Urban II. in the famous council of Clermont, where the first Crusade was preached for the recovery of the Holy Land[2]; a circumstance which naturally leads me to speak of that extravagant expedition, its causes, and its consequences. LETTER XXIV. A.D. 1095.

41. Mr. Hume, in particular, has triumphed over every adversary. His collected arguments, supported by facts, to prove "that the commons originally formed no part of the Anglo-Norman parliament," are strong and satisfactory. But the following clause in the Great Charter is of itself sufficient to determine the dispute. "We will cause to be summoned," says the king, "as a COMMON COUNCIL of the KINGDOM, "the *archbishops*, *bishops*, *earls*, and *great barons*, personally, by our letters; "and besides we will cause to be summoned, in general, by our sheriffs "and bailiffs, all *others* who HOLD of us IN CHIEF." (*Mag. Chart.* c. xiv.) This indubitable testimony, so full and conclusive, when duly weighed, must preclude all future controversy on the subject.

1. Letter XVIII.

2. Harduin. *Concil.* tom. xi.

PART I.

Gregory VII. among his other vaſt ideas, had formed, as we have ſeen, the project of uniting the weſtern Chriſtians againſt the Mahometans, and of recovering Paleſtine from the hands of thoſe Infidels[3]: and his quarrels with the emperor Henry IV. by which he declared himſelf an enemy to the civil power of princes, only could have obſtructed the progreſs of this undertaking, conducted by ſo able a politician, at a time when the minds of men were fully prepared for ſuch an enterprize. The work, however, was reſerved for a meaner inſtrument; for a man whoſe condition could excite no jealouſy, and whoſe head was as weak as his imagination was warm. But before I mention this man, I muſt ſay a few words of the ſtate of the Eaſt at that time, and of the paſſion for pilgrimages which then prevailed in Europe.

We naturally view with veneration and delight thoſe places which have been the reſidence of any illuſtrious perſonage, or the ſcene of any great tranſaction. Hence the enthuſiaſm with which the literati ſtill viſit the ruins of Athens and Rome; and hence flowed the ſuperſtitious devotion with which Chriſtians, from the earlieſt ages of the church, were accuſtomed to viſit that country where their religion had taken its riſe, and that city in which the Meſſiah had died for the redemption of thoſe who believe in his name. Pilgrimages to the ſhrines of ſaints and martyrs were alſo common; but as this diſtant pilgrimage could not be performed without conſiderable expence, fatigue, and danger, it appeared more meritorious than all others, and came to be conſidered as an expiation for almoſt every crime. And an opinion which prevailed over Europe towards the cloſe of the tenth, and the beginning of the eleventh century, increaſed the number

3. See Letter XXII.

and

LETTER XXIV.

and the ardour of the credulous devotees, that undertook this tedious journey. The thousand years mentioned by St. John, in his book of Revelations, were supposed to be accomplished, and the end of the world at hand. A general consternation, as I have had occasion to notice, seized the minds of Christians. Many relinquished their possessions, abandoned their friends and families, and hurried with precipitation to the Holy Land, where they imagined Christ would suddenly appear to judge the quick and the dead[4].

But the Christians, though ultimately undeceived in regard to the Day of Judgment, had the mortification, in these pious journies, to see the holy sepulchre, and the other places made sacred by the presence of the Saviour, fallen into the hands of Infidels. The followers, and the countrymen of Mahomet, had early made themselves masters of Palestine, which the Greek empire, far in its decline, was unable to protect against so warlike an enemy. They gave little disturbance, however, to those zealous pilgrims who daily flocked to Jerusalem: nay they allowed every one, after paying a moderate tribute, to visit the holy sepulchre, to perform his religious duties, and return in peace. But the Turks, a Tartar tribe, who had also embraced Mahometanism, having wrested Syria from the Saracens, as you have seen, about the middle of the eleventh century, and made themselves masters of Jerusalem; pilgrims were thenceforth exposed to outrages of every kind from these fierce barbarians. And this change coinciding with the panic of the consummation of all things, and the supposed appearance of Christ on Mount Sion, filled Europe with alarm and indignation. Every pilgrim, who returned from

4. *Chron.* Will. Godelli ap. Bouquet. *Recueil des Hist. de France*, tom. x.

PART I. Paleſtine, related the dangers he had encountered in viſiting the holy city, and deſcribed, with exaggeration, the cruelty and vexations of the Turks; who, to uſe the language of thoſe zealots, not only profaned the ſepulchre of the Lord by their preſence, but derided the ſacred myſteries in the very place of their completion, and where the ſon of God was ſpeedily expected to hold his great tribunal[5].

WHILE the minds of men were thus rouſed, a fanatical monk, commonly known by the name of Peter the Hermit, a native of Amiens in Picardy, revived the project of Gregory VII. of leading all the forces of Chriſtendom againſt the Infidels, and of driving them out of the Holy Land. He had made the pilgrimage to Jeruſalem, and was ſo deeply affected with the danger to which that act of piety now expoſed Chriſtians, that he ran from province to province on his return, with a crucifix in his hand, exciting princes and people to this holy war; and wherever he came, he kindled the ſame enthuſiaſtic ardour for it with which he himſelf was animated.

URBAN II. who had at firſt been doubtful of the ſucceſs of ſuch a project, at length entered into Peter's views, and ſummoned at Placentia a council, (A.D. 1095.) which was obliged to be held in the open fields, no hall being ſufficient to contain the multitude: it conſiſted of four thouſand eccleſiaſtics, and thirty thouſand laymen, who all declared for the war againſt the Infidels, but none of them heartily engaged in the enterprize. Urban, therefore, found it neceſſary to call another council the ſame year at Clermont in Auvergne, where the greateſt prelates, nobles, and princes, attended; and when the pope and the hermit had con-

5. Eccard. *Corp. Script. Medii Ævi*, vol. i.

cluded

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A.D. 1095.

cluded their pathetic exhortations, the whole aſſembly, as if impelled by an immediate inſpiration, exclaimed with one voice: "It is the will of God!—It is the will of God!"—words which were deemed ſo memorable, and believed to be ſo much the reſult of a divine influence, that they were employed as the motto on the ſacred ſtandard, and as the ſignal of rendezvous and battle in all the future exploits of the champions of the *Croſs*; the ſymbol choſen by the devoted combatants, in alluſion to the death of Chriſt, as the badge of union, and affixed to their right ſhoulder, whence their expedition got the name of a Cruſade[6].

Persons of all ranks flew to arms with the utmoſt ardour. Not only the gallant nobles of that age, with their martial followers, whom the boldneſs of a romantic enterprize might have been apt to allure, but men in the more humble and pacific ſtations of life; eccleſiaſtics of every order, and even women, concealing their ſex beneath the diſguiſe of armour, engaged with emulation in an undertaking which was deemed ſo ſacred and meritorious. The greateſt criminals were forward in a ſervice, which they regarded as a propitiation for all their crimes. If they ſucceeded, they hoped to make their fortune in this world; and if they died, they were promiſed a crown of glory in the world to come. Devotion, paſſion, prejudice, and habit, all contributed to the ſame end; and the combination of ſo many cauſes produced that wonderful emigration which made the princeſs Anna Comnena ſay, That Europe, looſened from its foundations, and impelled by its moving principle, ſeemed in one united body to precipitate itſelf upon Aſia[7].

6. Theod. Ruinart. in *Vit. Urbani* II. Baron. *Annal. Eccleſ.* tom. xi.
7. Alexias. lib. x.

THE

PART I.
A.D. 1095.

The number of adventurers ſoon became ſo great, that their more experienced leaders, Hugh, count of Vermandois, brother to the French king, Robert, duke of Normandy, Raymond count of Thoulouſe, Godfrey of Bouillon, prince of Brabant, and Stephen, count of Blois, grew apprehenſive that the greatneſs of the armament would defeat its purpoſe. They therefore permitted an undiſciplined multitude, computed

A. D. 1096.

at three hundred thouſand men, to go before them, under the command of Peter the Hermit, Walter the Moneyleſs, and other wild fanatics.

Peter and his army, before which he walked with ſandals on his feet, a rope about his waiſt, and every other mark of monkiſh auſterity, took the road to Conſtantinople, through Hungary and Bulgaria. Godeſcald, a German prieſt, and his banditti, took the ſome route; and truſting that Heaven, by ſupernatural means would ſupply all their neceſſities, they made no proviſion for ſubſiſtence on their march. But they ſoon found themſelves obliged to obtain by plunder, what they had vainly expected from miracles. Want is ingenious in ſuggeſting pretences for its ſupply. Their fury firſt diſcharged itſelf upon the Jews. As the ſoldiers of Jeſus Chriſt, they thought themſelves authoriſed to take revenge upon his murderers: they accordingly fell upon thoſe unhappy people, and put to the ſword without mercy ſuch as would not ſubmit to baptiſm, ſeizing their effects as lawful prize. In Bavaria alone twelve thouſand Jews were maſſacred, and many thouſands in the other provinces of Germany. But Jews not being every where to be found, theſe pious robbers, who had taſted the ſweets of plunder, and were under no military regulations, pillaged without diſtinction; until the inhabitants of the countries through which they paſſed roſe, and cut them almoſt all off. The Hermit,

however,

however, and the remnant of his army, consisting of twenty thousand starving wretches, at length reached Constantinople, where he received a fresh supply of German and Italian vagabonds, who were guilty of the greatest disorders, pillaging even the churches [8]. LETTER XXIV. A.D. 1096.

Alexis Comnenus, the Greek emperor, who had applied to the Latins for succour against the Turks, entertained a hope, and but a feeble one, of obtaining such an aid as might enable him to repulse the enemy. He was, therefore, astonished to see his dominions overwhelmed by an inundation of licentious barbarians, strangers alike to order and discipline, and to hear of the multitudes that were following, under different leaders. He contented himself, however, with getting rid, as soon as possible, of such troublesome guests, by furnishing them with vessels to transport themselves to the other side of the Bosphorus; and general Peter soon saw himself in the plains of Asia, at the head of a Christian army, ready to give battle to the Infidels. Soliman, sultan of Nice, fell upon the disorderly crowd, and slaughtered them almost without resistance. Walter the Moneyless, and many other leaders of equal distinction, were slain; but Peter the Hermit found his way back to Constantinople, where he was considered as a maniac, who had enlisted a multitude of madmen to follow him [9].

In the mean time the more disciplined armies arrived at the imperial city, and were there joined by Bohemond, son of Robert Guiscard, from motives of policy rather than piety. Having no other inheri- A.D. 1097.

8. Maimbourg, *Hist. des Croisades*, tom. i.

9. Anna Comnena, ubi sup.

PART I. A. D. 1097.

tance but the ſmall principality of Tarentum, and his own valour, he took advantage of the epidemical enthuſiaſm of the times to aſſemble under his banner ten thouſand horſemen, well armed, and ſome infantry, with which he hoped to conquer a few provinces either from the Chriſtians or Mahometans. His preſence gave much alarm to the emperor Alexis Comnenus, with whom he had been formerly at war. But the refined policy of that prince, who careſſed thoſe rapacious allies whom he wiſhed to ruin, and ſecretly regarded as more dangerous than the enemies they came to combat, diverted all apprehenſions of harm either from Bohemond or the other leaders of the Cruſade. He furniſhed them with proviſions, and tranſported them ſafely into Aſia; after having concilitated their affections by preſents and promiſes, and engaged them to do him homage for the lands they ſhould conquer from the Turks [10].

Asia, like Europe, was then divided into a number of little ſtates, comprehended under the great ones. The Turkiſh princes paid an empty homage to the caliphs, but were in reality their maſters; and the ſultans, or ſoldans, who were very numerous, weakened ſtill farther the empire of Mahomet by continual wars with each other, the neceſſary conſequence of divided ſway. The ſoldiers of the Croſs, therefore, who amounted, when muſtered on the banks of the Boſphorus, to the incredible number of one hundred thouſand horſemen, and ſix hundred thouſand foot, were ſufficient to have conquered all Aſia, had they been united under one head, or commanded by leaders that obſerved any concert in their operations. But they were unhappily conducted by men of the moſt independent, intractable ſpirit, unacquainted

10. Maimbourg, ubi ſup.

with

with diſcipline, and enemies to civil or military ſubordination. Their zeal, however, their bravery, and their irreſiſtible force, ſtill carried them forward, and advanced them to the great end of their enterprize, in ſpite of every obſtacle; the ſcarcity of proviſions, the exceſſes of fatigue, and the influence of unknown climes. After an obſtinate ſiege, they took Nice, the ſeat of old Soliman, ſultan of Syria, whoſe army they had twice defeated: they made themſelves maſters of Antioch, the ſeat of another ſultan, and entirely broke the ſtrength of the Turks, who had ſo long tyranniſed over the Arabs [11]. A.D. 1098.

THE caliph of Egypt, whoſe alliance the Chriſtians had hitherto courted, recovered, on the fall of the Turkiſh power, the authority of the caliphs in Jeruſalem. On this he ſent ambaſſadors to the leaders of the Cruſade, informing them, that they might now perform their religious vows, if they came diſarmed to that city; and that all Chriſtian pilgrims, who ſhould thenceforth viſit the holy ſepulchre, might expect the ſame good treatment which they had ever received from his predeceſſors. His offer was, however, rejected. He was required to yield up the city to the Chriſtians; and, on his refuſal, the champions of the Croſs advanced to the ſiege of Jeruſalem, the great object of their armament, and the acquiſition of which they conſidered as the conſummation of their labours.

THESE pious adventurers were now much diminiſhed, by the detachments they had made, and the diſaſters they had ſuffered: and what ſeems almoſt incredible, they did not exceed, according to the teſtimony of moſt hiſtorians, twenty thouſand foot,

11. Dach. Specileg. vol. iv. Maimbourg, tom. i.

and

PART I. A.D. 1099.

and fifteen hundred horse, while the garrison of Jerusalem consisted of forty thousand men. But, be that as it may, after a siege of five weeks, they took the city by assault, and put the garrison and inhabitants to the sword without distinction. Arms protected not the brave, or submission the timid: no age or sex was spared: infants perished by the same sword that pierced their mothers, while imploring mercy. The streets of Jerusalem were covered with heaps of slain; and the shrieks of agony or despair still resounded from every house, when these triumphant warriors, glutted with slaughter, threw aside their arms, yet streaming with blood, and advanced with naked feet and bended knees to the sepulchre of the Prince of Peace! sung anthems to that Redeemer, who had purchased their salvation by his death; and, while dead to the calamities of their fellow-creatures, dissolved in tears for the sufferings of the Messiah [12]!—So inconsistent is human nature with itself; and so easily, as the philosophic Hume remarks, does the most effeminate superstition associate both with the most heroic courage, and with the fiercest barbarity.

About the same time that this great event happened in Asia, where Godfrey of Bouillon was chosen king of Jerusalem, and Bohemond, and some other Christian princes, settled in their new conquests, Urban II. the author of the Crusade, and the queen of France, died in Europe. In consequence of these deaths, Philip I. who still continued to live with the countess of Anjou, was absolved, by the new pope, from the sentence of excommunication denounced in the council of Clermont. But although this absolution quieted in some measure his domestic troubles, his authority, which the thunder of the church, to-

12. M. Paris. Order. Vital. Vertot, *Hist. de Chev. de Malt.* tom. i.

gether

gether with his indolent and licentious courſe of life, had ruined, was far from being reſtored. The nobility more and more affected independency: they inſulted him every hour; plundered his ſubjects, and entirely cut off the communication between Paris and Orleans [13]. LETTER XXIV. A.D. 1099.

In order to remedy theſe evils, Philip aſſociated his ſon Lewis in the government; or, at leaſt, declared him, with the conſent of the nobility, his ſucceſſor. This young prince was, in all reſpects, the reverſe of his father; active, vigorous, affable, generous, and free from the vices incident to youth. He ſaw that in a ſtate ſo corrupted, nothing could be done but by force: he therefore kept continually in the field, with a ſmall body of troops about him, and theſe he employed againſt ſuch nobles as would not liſten to the dictates of juſtice and equity, but treated the laws of their country with deriſion. He demoliſhed their caſtles; he compelled them to make reſtitution to ſuch as they had pillaged, and he forced them to abandon the lands they had uſurped from the clergy: yet all theſe rigours he executed in a manner ſo diſintereſted, and with ſo indiſputable a zeal for the public welfare, that he gained the affections of the virtuous part of the nobility, and the reverence of the people, while he reſtored order to the ſtate, and preſerved the monarchy from ſubverſion [14]. A.D. 1100. A.D. 1102.

This prince, who is commonly called by the old hiſtorians Lewis the Groſs, from his great ſize in the latter part of life, and who was the ſixth Lewis that ſat upon the throne of France, ſucceeded his father in 1108, when he was thirty years of age. Soon after his coronation, he engaged in a war againſt A.D. 1108.

13. Order. Vital. Mezeray. 14. Ord. Vital. Sug. *Vit. Lud. Groſſi.*

Henry

PART I. A.D. 1108. Henry I. of England, a powerful vaſſal, whom it was his intereſt to humble. The war was carried on with a variety of fortunes during the greater part of this reign, but without producing any remarkable event, except what I have related in the hiſtory of England, or any alteration in the ſtate of either kingdom [15].

A.D. 1128. A PEACE was at length concluded between the two rival princes; after which Lewis devoted himſelf to the regulation of the interior polity of his kingdom, and either humbled or over-awed the great vaſſals of the crown, ſo as to procure univerſal tranquillity. This he accompliſhed, partly by eſtabliſhing the commons or third ſtate; partly by enfranchiſing the villains or bondmen; and partly by diminiſhing the exorbitant authority of the ſeignioral juriſdictions; ſending commiſſaries into the provinces to receive the complaints and redreſs the wrongs of ſuch as had been oppreſſed by the dukes and counts, and every where encouraging appeals to the royal judges.—But the king of France, in the midſt of his proſperity, fell into a languiſhing diſorder, occaſioned by his exceſſive corpulency; and when he thought his death at hand, he ordered his ſon to be called to him, and gave him the following excellent advice. "By this ſign," ſaid he, (drawing the ſignet from his finger, and putting it on that of the prince) "I inveſt you with ſovereign au-"thority; but remember, that it is nothing but a pub-"lic employment, to which you are called by Heaven, "and for the exerciſe of which you muſt render an "account in the world to come [16]".

15. See Letter XXIII.

16. Sug. *Vit Lud. Groſſi.* Henault, *Chron. Hiſt.* tom. i.

THE

LETTER XXIV.

A. D. 1137.

The king unexpectedly recovered; but he would never afterwards uſe any of the enſigns of royalty. An accident contributed to the revival of his ſtrength. William duke of Guienne, and earl of Poitou, reſolving to make a pilgrimage to the ſhrine of St. James of Compoſtella, bequeathed his extenſive territories to his daughter Eleanor, on condition that ſhe married young Lewis, already crowned king of France, at the deſire of his father; and the duke dying in that pilgrimage, the marriage was celebrated with great pomp at Bourdeaux, where Lewis VII. was ſolemnly inaugurated as lord of Guienne and Poitou[17].

In the mean time Lewis VI. unable to ſupport the heat of the dog-days, died at Paris on the firſt of Auguſt, in the ſixtieth year of his age, and the thirtieth of his reign. A better man, hiſtorians agree, never graced the throne of France; but with the addition of certain qualities, his countrymen ſay he might have made a better king. Poſterity, however, may not perhaps be inclined to think worſe of his character, when they are told that the qualities he wanted were hypocriſy and diſſimulation, and that his vices were honeſty and ſincerity; which led him to deſpiſe flattery, and indulge himſelf in a manly freedom of ſpeech.

We ſhould now, my dear Philip, return to the hiſtory of England; but the ſecond cruſade, which was conducted by the ſovereigns of France and Germany, makes it neceſſary to carry farther the affairs of the continent.

17. Id. ibid.

LETTER XXV.

The GERMAN EMPIRE *and its* DEPENDENCIES, ROME *and the* ITALIAN STATES, *from the Death of* HENRY V. *to the Election of* FREDERIC I. *surnamed* BARBAROSSA.

LETTER XXV.

AS Henry V. left no issue, it was universally believed that the states would confer the empire on one of his nephews, Conrad, duke of Franconia, or Frederic, duke of Suabia, who were princes of great merit; but Albert, archbishop of Mentz, found means to influence the German chiefs to give their
A. D. 1125. suffrages in favour of Lothario, duke of Saxe-Supplembourg, who had supported him in all his contests with the late emperor. Lothario was accordingly crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, in presence of the pope's nuncio. Meanwhile his two competitors neglected nothing in their power to obtain the throne. But after a short opposition, which was, however, obstinate and bloody, they dropped their pretensions, and were reconciled to Lothario, who afterwards honoured them with his friendship [1].

THE first expedition of the new emperor was against the Bohemians, whom he obliged to sue for peace, and do homage to the empire. He next marched into Italy, where ecclesiastical affairs, as usual, were in
A. D. 1130. much disorder. Innocent II. had succeeded Honorius II. by virtue of a canonical election; notwithstanding which cardinal Leoni, the grandson of a wealthy Jew, was also proclaimed pope by the name of Anacletus, and kept possession of Rome by means of his money, whilst his rival was obliged to retire into France, the

1. *Annal. de l' Emp.* tom. i. Heif. lib. ii. cap. xi.

common

LETTER XXV.

common aſylum of diſtreſſed popes. Lothario eſpouſed the cauſe of Innocent, with whom he had an interview at Liege; accompanied him to Rome at the head of an army, and re-eſtabliſhed him in the papal chair, in ſpite of all the efforts and oppoſition of Anacletus [2]. A. D. 1132.

AFTER being ſolemnly crowned at Rome, the emperor returned to Germany; where, by the advice of Ernerius, a learned profeſſor of the Roman law, he ordered that juſtice ſhould be adminiſtered in the empire according to the Digeſta, or Code of Juſtinian, a copy of which was, about this time, found in Italy [3]. In the mean time Roger, duke of Apulia, who had lately conquered the iſland of Sicily, raiſed an army in favour of Anacletus, and made himſelf maſter of almoſt all the places belonging to the Holy See. Pope Innocent retired to Piſa, which was then one of the moſt conſiderable trading cities in Europe, and again implored the aſſiſtance of Lothario. The emperor did not deſert him in his adverſity: he immediately put himſelf at the head of a powerful army; and, by the help of the Piſans, the imperial forces ſoon recovered all the Patrimony of St. Peter. Pope Innocent was re-conducted in triumph to Rome; a circumſtance which ſo much affected Anacletus, that he fell a martyr to the ſucceſs of his competitor, literally dying of grief. A. D. 1137.

THE emperor afterwards drove Roger, duke of Apulia from city to city; and, at length, obliged him to take refuge in Sicily, his new kingdom. He then ſubdued the provinces of Apulia and Calabria, and all Roger's Italian dominions, which he formed into a

2. Jean de Launes, *Hiſt. du Pontificat du Pape Innocent II.*

3. On this ſubject, which is involved in controverſy, ſee Hen. Brenchmann, *Hiſt. Pandect.* Murat *Antiq. Ital.* tom. ii.

PART I. A.D. 1138. principality, and beftowed it, with the title of duke, upon Renaud, a German prince, and one of his own relations [4].

On his way to Germany, Lothario was feized with a dangerous diftemper, which carried him off near Trent, in the twelfth year of his reign. He was diftinguifhed by a paffionate love of peace, and an exact attention to the adminiftration of public juftice.

Conrad, duke of Franconia, nephew to Henry V. A.D. 1139. was unanimoufly elected emperor, on the death of Lothario. But the imperial throne was difputed by Henry the Haughty, duke of Bavaria, the name of whofe family was Guelph; hence thofe who efpoufed his party were called Guelphs, an appellation afterwards ufually beftowed on the enemies of the emperors.

A.D. 1140. Henry the Haughty died during this conteft, after being divefted of his dominions by the princes of the empire; but the war was ftill carried on againft the emperor by Guelph, the duke's brother, and Roger king of Sicily. The imperial army was commanded by Frederic, duke of Suabia, the emperor's brother, who being born at the village of Hieghibelin, gave to his foldiers the name of Ghibelins; an epithet by which the imperial party was diftinguifhed in Italy, while the pope's adherents grew famous under that of Guelphs [5].

Guelph, and his principal followers, were befieged in the caftle of Weinfberg; and having fuftained great lofs in a fally, they were obliged to furrender at difcretion. The emperor, however, inftead of ufing his

4. *Annal. de l'Emp.* tom. i.

5. Murat. *Differtat. de Guelph. et Guibel.* Sigon. lib. xi. Krant. *Sax.* lib. viii.

good fortune with rigour, granted the duke, and his chief officers, permiſſion to retire unmoleſted. But the ducheſs, ſuſpecting the generoſity of Conrad, with whoſe enmity againſt her huſband ſhe was well acquainted, begged that ſhe, and the other women in the caſtle, might be allowed to come out with as much as each of them could carry, and be conducted to a place of ſafety. Her requeſt was granted, and the evacuation was immediately performed; when the emperor and his army, who expected to ſee every lady loaded with jewels, gold, and ſilver, beheld, to their aſtoniſhment, the ducheſs and her fair companions ſtaggering beneath the weight of their huſbands. The tears ran down Conrad's cheeks: he applauded their conjugal tenderneſs, and an accommodation with Guelph and his adherents was the conſequence of this act of female heroiſm[6]. A.D. 1140. A.D. 1141.

While theſe things were tranſacting in Germany, new diſorders broke out in Italy. The people of Rome formed a deſign of re-eſtabliſhing the commonwealth; of retrieving the ſovereignty of their city, and aboliſhing the temporal dominion of the popes. Lucius II. marched againſt the rebels, and was killed at the foot of the Capitol; but Eugenius III. his ſucceſſor, found means to reduce them to reaſon, and preſerve the authority of the Apoſtolic See[7]. A.D. 1145.

This pope afterwards countenanced the ſecond cruſade againſt the Saracens, preached by St. Bernard, in which the emperor and the king of France, engaged, as I ſhall ſoon have occaſion to relate. Another cruſade was preached againſt the Moors in Spain, in which a great number of Germans, from the neigh- A.D. 1147.

6. Heiſ. lib. ii. cap. xii.

7. Fleury, *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* vol. xiv. Moſheim, *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* vol. iii.

PART I. A.D. 1147. bourhood of the Rhine and Wefer, engaged; and the Saxons, about the fame time, undertook a crufade againft the Pagans of the North, whom they cut off in thoufands, without making one convert [8].

NOTHING remarkable happened in the empire, after the return of Conrad III. from the Eaft, except the death of prince Henry, his eldeft fon, who had been elected king of the Romans. This event A.D. 1152. greatly affected the emperor, who died foon after; and his nephew Frederic, furnamed Barbaroffa, duke of Suabia, was raifed to the imperial throne by the unanimous voice of the princes and nobles both of Italy and Germany.

LETTER XXVI.

FRANCE *under* LEWIS VII. *till the Divorce of Queen* ELEANOR, *with fome Account of the fecond* CRUSADE.

LETTER XXVI. A.D. 1137. LEWIS VII. furnamed the Young, was no fooner feated on the throne of France, than he found himfelf engaged in one of thofe civil wars, which the feudal government rendered unavoidable; and having, in an expedition into Champagne, made himfelf mafter of the town of Vitri, he ordered it to be fet on fire. In confequence of the conflagration that followed, thirteen hundred perfons, who had taken A.D. 1143. refuge in the church, all perifhed in the flames [1]. This cruel action made a deep impreffion upon the king's mind, and prepared the way for a fecond crufade, which now demands our attention.

8. Id. ibid.

1. Gul. Tyr. *Geft. Ludovic. VII.*

THE

The Chriſtians of the Eaſt grew weaker every day in thoſe countries which they had conquered. The little kingdom of Edeſſa had already been taken by the Turks, and Jeruſalem itſelf was threatened. Europe was ſolicited for a new armament; and as the French had begun the firſt inundation, they were again applied to, in hopes of a ſecond.

Pope Eugenius III. to whom the deputies from the Eaſt had been ſent, very wiſely pitched upon Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, as the inſtrument of this pious warfare. Bernard was learned for thoſe times, naturally eloquent, auſtere in his life, irreproachable in his morals, enthuſiaſtically zealous, and inflexible in his purpoſe. He had long held the reputation of a ſaint, was heard as an oracle, and revered as a prophet; little wonder, therefore, he found means to perſuade the king of France, that there was no other method of expiating his guilt but by an expedition to the Holy Land, A. D. 1145.

At Vezelai in Burgundy, a ſcaffold was erected in the market-place, on which St. Bernard appeared by the ſide of Lewis VII. The ſaint ſpoke firſt, the king ſeconded him, after taking the croſs from his hands. Queen Eleanor alſo took the croſs, and the example of the royal pair was followed by all preſent, among whom were many of the chief nobility [2]. A. D. 1146.

Suger, abbot of St. Dennis, then prime miniſter, a man very different from Bernard, endeavoured in vain to diſſuade the king from abandoning his dominions, by telling him that he might make a much more ſuitable atonement for his guilt by ſtaying at home, and governing his kingdom in a wiſe and pru-

2. *Epiſt. Ludovic. ad Suger.*

 dent

PART I.
A.D. 1146.

dent manner. The eloquence of St. Bernard, and the madneſs of the times, prevailed over reaſon and ſound policy. Suger, however, retained his opinion; and made no ſcruple of foretelling the inconveniencies that would attend an expedition into Paleſtine, whilſt Bernard made himſelf anſwerable for its ſucceſs, and extolled it with an enthuſiaſm that paſſed for inſpiration.

FROM France this fanatical orator went to preach the cruſade in Germany; where, by the force of his irreſiſtible eloquence, he prevailed on the emperor Conrad III. Frederic Barbaroſſa, afterwards emperor, and an infinite number of perſons of all ranks, to take the croſs; promiſing them, in the name of God, victory over the Infidels. He ran from city to city, every where communicating his enthuſiaſm; and, if we believe the hiſtorians of thoſe times, working miracles. It is not indeed pretended that he reſtored the dead to life; but the blind received ſight, the lame walked, the ſick were healed. And to theſe bold aſſertions, we may add a fact no leſs incredible, That, while St. Bernard's eloquence operated ſo powerfully on the minds of the Germans, he always preached to them in French, a language which they did not underſtand! or in Latin, equally unintelligible to the body of the people [3].

THE hopes of certain victory drew after the emperor and the king of France the greater part of the knights in their dominions: and it is ſaid, that in each army there were reckoned ſeventy thouſand men in complete armour, with a prodigious number of light horſe, beſides infantry: ſo that we cannot well

3. Henault, *Chron. Hiſt.* tom. i, *Anal. de l'Emp.* tom. i.

reduce

A. D. 1146.

reduce this ſecond emigration to leſs than three hundred thouſand perſons. And theſe joined to one million three hundred thouſand ſent before, make in the whole ſixteen hundred thouſand tranſplanted inhabitants.

A. D. 1147.

THE Germans took the field firſt, the French followed them: and the ſame exceſſes, that had been committed by the ſoldiers of the firſt cruſade, were acted over again by thoſe of the ſecond. Hence Manuel Comnenus, who now filled the throne of Conſtantinople, was diſquieted with the ſame apprehenſions which the former enterprize had raiſed in the mind of his grandfather Alexis. If the Greek emperor behaved ungenerouſly to them, it muſt therefore be aſcribed to the irregularity of their own conduct, which made craft neceſſary, where force was unequal; eſpecially as Manuel is repreſented, on all other occaſions, as a prince of great generoſity and magnanimity. But the mortality which prevailed in the German army, near the plains of Conſtantinople, may be fully accounted for from intemperance and the change of climate, without ſuppoſing either the wells to be poiſoned or the meal to be mingled with lime.

AFTER Conrad had paſſed the Boſphorus, he acted with that imprudence which ſeems inſeparable from ſuch romantic expeditions. As the principality of Antioch was yet in being, he might have joined thoſe Chriſtians who remained in Syria, and there have waited for the king of France. Their numbers united would have inſured them ſucceſs. But inſtead of ſuch a rational meaſure, the emperor, jealous both of the prince of Antioch and the king of France, marched immediately into the middle of Aſia Minor; where the ſultan of Iconium, a more experienced

PART I. enced general, drew his heavy German cavalry among the rocks, and cut his army in pieces. Conrad fled to Antioch; went to Jerusalem as a pilgrim, instead A. D. 1148. of appearing there as the leader of an army, and returned to Europe with a handful of men[4].

The king of France was not more successful in his enterprize. He fell into the same snare that had deceived the emperor; and being surprised among the rocks near Laodicea, was worsted, as Conrad had been. But Lewis met with a domestic misfortune that gave him more uneasiness than the loss of his army. Queen Eleanor was suspected of an amour with the prince of Antioch, at whose court her husband had taken refuge. She is even said to have forgot her fatigues in the arms of a young Turk: and the conclusion of the whole expedition was, that Lewis, like Conrad, returned to Europe with the wreck of a great army, after visiting the holy sepulchre, and being dishonoured by his pious consort, whose affection and zeal led her to embrace the cross, and accompany him A.D. 1149. into Asia[5]! A thousand ruined families in vain exclaimed against St. Bernard for his deluding prophecies: he excused himself by the example of Moses; who, like him, he said, had promised the Israelites to conduct them into a happy country, and yet saw the first generation perish in the desert.

Lewis, more delicate than politic, annulled soon after his return his marriage with queen Eleanor, who immediately espoused his formidable vassal, Henry Plantagenet duke of Normandy, count of Anjou and Maine, and presumptive heir to the crown of England; an inheritance which the accession of power

4. Otho de Frising. Gul. Tyr. *Chron. Muriniac.*
5. Gul. Tyr. *Gest. Ludovic. VII.* Henault, *Chron. Hist.* tom. i.

arising

arising from this alliance enabled him to obtain, while France lost the fine provinces of Guienne and Poitou, the hereditary possessions of the queen. But before I treat of that subject, we must take a view of England during the introductory reign. LETTER XXVI. A.D. 1149.

LETTER XXVII.

ENGLAND *from the Death of* HENRY I. *to the Accession of* HENRY II.

HENRY I. my dear Philip, as you have had occasion to see, left his dominions by will to his daughter Matilda; and as the nobility, both of England and Normandy, had sworn fealty to her, she had reason to expect the inheritance of both states. But the aversion of the feudal barons against female succession, prevailed over their good faith, and prepared the way for the usurpation of Stephen, count of Boulogne, son of the count of Blois, and grandson of the Conqueror, by his daughter Adela. LETTER XXVII. A.D. 1135.

STEPHEN was a prince of vigour and ability: but the manner in which he had obtained the crown of England, obliged him to grant exorbitant privileges to the nobility and clergy, who might be said to command the kingdom. The barons built and fortified castles; garrisoned them with their own troops; and, when offended, bid their monarch defiance, while wars between themselves were carried on with the utmost fury in every quarter. They even assumed the right of coining money, and of exercising, without appeal, every act of jurisdiction; and the inferior gentry, and the people, finding no guardianship from the laws, during this total dissolution of sovereign authority, A.D. 1136.

PART I. A.D. 1136. thority, were abliged to pay court to ſome neighbouring chieftain, and to purchaſe his protection, not only by yielding to his exactions, but by aſſiſting him in his rapine upon others[1].

WHILE things continued in this diſtracted ſituation, David king of Scotland appeared at the head of a conſiderable army, in defence of his niece Matilda's title; and penetrating into Yorkſhire, laid the whole country waſte. Theſe barbarous outrages enraged the northern nobility, who might otherwiſe have been inclined to join him, and proved the ruin of Matilda's cauſe. The earl of Albemarle, and other powerful nobles, aſſembled an army at North-Allerton, where A.D. 1138. a great battle was fought, called the *Battle of the Standard*, from a high crucifix erected by the Engliſh on a waggon, and carried along with the army, as a military enſign. The Scots were routed with great ſlaughter, and the king narrowly eſcaped falling into the hands of the Engliſh army[2].

THIS ſucceſs over-awed the malcontents in England, and might have given ſtability to Stephen's throne, had he not been ſo elated by proſperity as to engage in a conteſt with the clergy, who were at that time an over-match for any monarch. They acted entirely as barons; fortified caſtles, employed military power againſt their ſovereign or their neighbours, and thereby increaſed thoſe diſorders which it was their duty to prevent, while they claimed an exemption from all civil juriſdiction, and attracted popularity by the ſacredneſs of their character. The biſhop of Saliſbury, whoſe caſtle had been ſeized by order of A.D. 1139. the king, appealed to the pope; and had not Stephen

1. Gul. Malmeſ. *Hiſt. Novel.* lib. i. 2. R. Haguſt. Ailred. de *Bell. Standard.*

and

and his partizans employed menaces, and even ſhewn a diſpoſition of executing vengeance by the hands of the ſoldiery, affairs had inſtantly come to extremity between the crown and the mitre. LETTER XXVII. A.D. 1139.

In the mean time Matilda, encouraged by theſe diſcontents, and invited by the rebellious clergy, landed in England, accompanied by Robert earl of Glouceſter, natural ſon of the late king, and a retinue of a hundred and forty knights. She fixed her reſidence at Arundel caſtle, whoſe gates were opened to her by Adelais, the queen-dowager, now married to William de Albini, earl of Suſſex. Her party daily increaſed; ſhe was ſoon joined by ſeveral barons: war raged in every quarter of the kingdom; and was carried on with ſo much fury, that the land was left untilled, and the inſtruments of huſbandry deſtroyed or abandoned. A grievous famine, the natural conſequence of ſuch diſorders, affected equally both parties, and reduced the ſpoilers, as well as the defenceleſs people, to the moſt extreme want[3]. Sept. 30. A.D. 1140.

THINGS were in this deplorable ſituation, when an unexpected event ſeemed to promiſe ſome mitigation of the public calamities. The royal army was defeated near the caſtle of Lincoln; and Stephen himſelf, ſurrounded by the enemy, and borne down by numbers, was made captive, after diſplaying uncommon efforts of valour. He was conducted to Glouceſter, thrown into priſon, and ignominiouſly loaded with irons. But he was ſoon after releaſed in exchange for earl Robert, Matilda's brother, who was no leſs the ſoul of one party than Stephen was of the A.D. 1141.

3. *Chron. Sax. Geſt. Reg. Stephani.* H. Hunting. lib. viii.

PART I. other, and the civil war was again kindled with great-
A. D. 1141. er fury than ever[4].

THE weakneſs of both parties, however, at laſt produced a tacit ceſſation of arms, and the empreſs
A. D. 1148. Matilda retired into Normandy. But an event ſoon after happened, which threatened a revival of hoſtilities in England. Prince Henry, ſon of Matilda and Geoffrey Plantagenet, had reached his ſixteenth year, and was deſirous of receiving the honour of knighthood from his grand-uncle, David king of Scotland. For this purpoſe he paſſed through England with a great retinue, and was viſited by the moſt conſiderable of his partizans, whoſe hopes he rouſed by his dexterity and vigour in all manly exercifes, and his prudence in every occurrence. He ſtaid ſome time in Scotland, where he increaſed in reputation; and on
A. D. 1150. his return to Normandy, he was inveſted in that duchy with the conſent of his mother Matilda. His father died the following year, when Henry took
A. D. 1151. poſſeſſion of Anjou and Maine, and eſpouſed the heireſs of Guienne and Poitou, who had been married ſixteen years to Lewis VII. king of France, but whom he had divorced, as I have already obſerved, on account of her gallantries. This marriage, which brought Henry a great acceſſion of power, rendered him extremely formidable to his rival; and the proſpect of his riſing fortune had ſuch an effect in England, that the archbiſhop of Canterbury refuſed to anoint Euſtace, Stephen's ſon, as his ſucceſſor, and made his eſcape beyond ſea, to avoid the fury of the enraged monarch[5].

As ſoon as Henry was informed of theſe diſpoſi-
A. D. 1153. tions in the people, he invaded England. Stephen

4. Gul. Malmeſ. *Hiſt. Nov.* lib. ii. Hen. Hunt. lib. viii.
5. Id. ibid.

advanced

A. D. 1153.

advanced with a ſuperior army to meet him: and a deciſive action was every day expected, when the great men on both ſides, terrified with the proſpect of farther bloodſhed and confuſion, interpoſed with their good offices, and ſet on foot a negociation between the contending princes. The death of Euſtace, which happened during the courſe of the treaty, facilitated its concluſion; and an accommodation was at laſt ſettled, by which it was agreed, that Stephen ſhould poſſeſs the crown during his life-time; that juſtice ſhould be adminiſtered in his name, even in the provinces which had ſubmitted to his rival; and that Henry, on Stephen's death, ſhould ſucceed to the kingdom of England, and William, Stephen's ſon, to Boulogne and his patrimonial eſtate [6].

THE barons all ſwore to the obſervance of this treaty, and did homage to Henry as heir of the crown. He immediately after evacuated the kingdom; and Stephen's death, which happened next year, prevented those jealouſies and feuds, which were likely to have enſued in ſo delicate a ſituation. The character of Stephen is differently repreſented by hiſtorians; but all allow, that he poſſeſſed induſtry, activity, and courage, to a great degree; and had he ſucceeded by a juſt title, he ſeems to have been well qualified to promote the happineſs and proſperity of his ſubjects, notwithſtanding the miſeries that England ſuffered under his reign. A. D. 1154.

6. Hen. Hunt. ubi ſup. *Annal. Waverl.* M. Paris. J. Brompton.

7. Theſe miſeries are thus deſcribed by a cotemporary hiſtorian. "All England wore a face of deſolation and wretchedneſs. Multitudes "abandoned their beloved country and went into voluntary exile: "others, forſaking their own houſes, built ſorry huts in the church-"yards, hoping for protection from the ſacredneſs of the place. "Whole families, after ſuſtaining life as long as they could, by eating "herbs, roots, and the fleſh of dogs and horſes, at laſt died of hunger; "—and you might ſee many pleaſant villages without a ſingle inhabitant of either ſex." *Geſt. Reg. Steph.*

LETTER XXVIII.

ENGLAND, *during the Reign of* HENRY II. *with an Account of the Affairs of* FRANCE.

LETTER XXVIII.
A. D. 1154.

I HAVE already obſerved, my dear Philip, that before the conqueſt of England by the duke of Normandy, this iſland was as diſtinct from the reſt of the world in politics as ſituation. The Engliſh had then neither enemies nor allies on the continent. But the foreign dominions of William and his ſucceſſors connected them with the kings and great vaſſals of France: and while the oppoſite pretenſions of the popes and the emperors in Italy produced a continual intercourſe between Germany and that country, the two great monarchs of France and England formed, in another part of Europe, a ſeparate ſyſtem, and carried on their wars and negociations, without meeting either with oppoſition or ſupport from their neighbours; the extenſive confederacies by which the European potentates are now united, and made the guardians of each other, being then totally unknown. No wonder, therefore, that Lewis VII. king of France, obſerved with terror the riſing greatneſs of the houſe of Anjou or Plantagenet, whoſe continental dominions compoſed above a third of the whole French monarchy, and which gave a ſovereign to England in the perſon of Henry II. The jealouſy occaſioned by this alarming circumſtance, however, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſee, not only ſaved France from falling a prey to England, but exalted that kingdom to the pitch of grandeur which it has ſo long enjoyed. The king of England ſoon became a kind of foreigner in his continental dominions; and the other powerful vaſſals of the French crown, inſtead of being rouſed at the oppreſſion of a co-vaſſal, were rather pleaſed at the expulſion of the Anglo-Normans.

But as theſe important conſequences could not be foreſeen by human wiſdom, the king of France had maintained a ſtrict union with Stephen, in order to prevent the ſucceſſion of Henry. The ſudden death of the uſurper, however rendered abortive all the ſchemes of Lewis. Henry was received in England with the acclamations of all orders of men, who joyfully ſwore to him the oath of allegiance: and he began his reign with re-eſtabliſhing juſtice and good order, to which the kingdom had been long a ſtranger. For this purpoſe he diſmiſſed all thoſe foreign mercenaries retained by Stephen; and that he might reſtore authority to the laws, he cauſed all the new erected caſtles, which had proved ſo many ſanctuaries to rebels and free-booters, to be demoliſhed[1]. In order yet farther to conciliate the affections of his ſubjects, he voluntarily confirmed that charter of liberties, which had been granted by his grandfather, Henry I[2]. A. D. 1154.

Tranquillity was no ſooner reſtored to England, than Henry had occaſion to viſit his foreign dominions; where all things being likewiſe ſettled, he returned to repreſs the incurſions of the Welch, who at firſt gave him much trouble, but at length ſubmitted. In the mean time a quarrel broke out between Lewis and Henry, relative to the county of Thouloufe, and war was openly carried on between the two monarchs. But theſe hoſtilities produced no memorable event, were ſtopt by a ceſſation of arms, and ſoon terminated in a peace, through the mediation of the pope. A. D. 1156. A. D. 1157. A. D. 1161.

This war, ſo inſignificant in itſelf, is remarkable for the manner in which it was conducted. An army

1. Gervaſ. *Chron.* Gul. Neubrig. lib. ii. 2. Vide Blackſtone's *Law Tracts*, vol. ii.

PART I. A.D. 1161. formed of feudal vaſſals, as I have had occaſion frequently to obſerve, was commonly very intractable and undiſciplined; both becauſe of the independent ſpirit of the perſons who compoſed it, and becauſe the commiſſions were not beſtowed by the choice of the ſovereign, in reward of the military talents and ſervices of the officers. Each baron conducted his own vaſſals, and his rank in the army was greater or leſs, in proportion to the value of his property. Even the chief command, under that of the prince was often attached to birth; and as the military vaſſals were obliged to ſerve only forty days, at their own charge, the ſtate reaped very little benefit from their attendance. Henry, ſenſible of theſe inconveniences, levied upon his vaſſals in Normandy, and other provinces remote from Thouloufe, the ſeat of war, a ſum of money in place of their ſervice: and this commutation, by reaſon of the greater diſtance, was ſtill more advantageous to his Engliſh vaſſals. He therefore impoſed a *ſcutage* of three pounds upon each knight's fee; a condition, though unuſual, and the firſt perhaps to be met with in hiſtory, to which the military tenants readily ſubmitted. With this money he levied an army, which was more at his diſpoſal, and whoſe ſervice was more durable and conſtant: and, in order to facilitate thoſe levies, he enlarged the privileges of the people, and rendered them leſs dependent on the barons, by whom they had been long held in ſervitude, or in a ſtate of the moſt grievous oppreſſion.

A.D. 1162. HAVING thus regulated his civil and military affairs and accommodated his differences with Lewis, Henry, ſoon after his return to England, began to caſt his eye upon the church, where abuſes of every kind prevailed. The clergy among their other inventions

to

A.D. 1162.

to obtain money, had inculcated the neceſſity of penance as an atonement for ſin. They had alſo introduced the practice of paying large ſums of money, as a compoſition for ſuch penances. By theſe means the ſins of the people were become a revenue to the prieſts; and the king computed, that, by this invention alone, they levied more money from his ſubjects than flowed into the royal treaſury by all the methods of public ſupply [3]. Feeling for his oppreſſed people, he therefore required that a civil officer, appointed by the crown, ſhould for the future be preſent in all eccleſiaſtical courts, and whoſe conſent ſhould be neceſſary to every compoſition made by ſinners for their ſpiritual offences.

But the grand difficulty was, How to carry this order into execution? as the eccleſiaſtics, in that age, had renounced all immediate ſubordination to the civil power. They openly claimed exemption, in caſes of criminal accuſation, from a trial before courts of juſtice. Spiritual penalties alone could be inflicted on their offences; and as the clerical habit was thus become a protection for all enormities, they could not fail to increaſe. Accordingly crimes of the deepeſt dye were daily committed with impunity by eccleſiaſtics: and it was found upon inquiry, that no leſs than an hundred murders had been perpetrated ſince the king's acceſſion, by men in holy orders, who had never been called to account for theſe offences againſt the laws of nature and ſociety [4].

In order to bring ſuch criminals to juſtice, as the firſt ſtep towards his projected reformation of the church, and by that means to reſtore union between the civil and eccleſiaſtical power, ſo neceſſary in every

3. Fitz-Steph. *Vit. St. Thom.*

4. Gul. Neubr. lib. ii.

govern-

PART I. A.D. 1162.

government for the maintenanne of peace and harmony! Henry exalted Thomas à Becket, his chancellor, and the firſt man of Engliſh deſcent who had occupied an eminent ſtation ſince the Norman conqueſt, to the ſee of Canterbury, on the death of archbiſhop Theobald; rightly judging, that if the preſent opportunity ſhould be neglected, and the uſurpations of the clergy allowed to proceed, the crown muſt be in danger, from the predominating ſuperſtition of the people, of falling under ſubjection to the mitre.

Becket, while chancellor, was pompous in his retinue, ſumptuous in his furniture, and luxurious in his table, beyond what England had ſeen in a ſubject. His houſe was a place of education for the ſons of the chief nobility, and the king himſelf frequently condeſcended to partake of his chancellor's entertainments. His amuſements were as gay as his manner of life was ſplendid and elegant. He employed himſelf at leiſure hours in hunting, hawking, gaming, and horſemanſhip. His complaiſance and good humour had rendered him agreeable, and his induſtry and abilities uſeful to his maſter. He was well acquainted with the king's intention of retrenching, or rather confining within ancient bounds all eccleſiaſtical privileges, and having always ſhewed a ready diſpoſition to comply with every advance to that purpoſe, Henry conſidered him as the fitteſt perſon he could place at the head of the Engliſh church. But no prince of ſo much penetration, as appeared in the iſſue, ever ſo little underſtood the character of his miniſter.

Becket was no ſooner inſtalled in the ſee of Canterbury, which rendered him the ſecond perſon in the kingdom, than he ſecretly aſpired at being the firſt, in

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consequence at least, and totally altered his manner of life. He affected the greatest austerity, and the most rigid mortification: he wore sackcloth next his skin, which he changed so seldom, that it was filled with dirt and vermin. His usual diet was bread, his drink water: he tore his back with the frequent discipline which he inflicted upon it; and he daily washed on his knees, in imitation of Jesus Christ, the feet of thirteen beggars, whom he afterwards dismissed with presents[5]. Every one who made profession of sanctity was admitted to his conversation, and returned full of panegyrics on the humility, as well as piety and mortification of the holy primate; whose aspect now wore the appearance of intense seriousness, mental reflection, and sacred devotion. And all men of penetration saw, that he was meditating some great design, and that the ambition and ostentation of his character had taken a new and more dangerous direction.

This champion of the church (for such he now declared himself) did not even wait till the king had matured those projects, which he knew had been formed against ecclesiastical power: he himself began hostilities, and endeavoured to over-awe the king by the intrepidity and boldness of his measures. But although Henry found himself thus grievously mistaken in the character of the person whom he had promoted to the primacy, he determined not to desist from his former intention of retrenching clerical usurpations:—and an event soon occurred which gave him a plausible pretence for putting his design in execution, and brought matters to a crisis with the archbishop.

5. Fitz-Steph. ubi sup.

PART I. A.D. 1163. A PARISH clerk in Worcestershire having debauched a gentleman's daughter, had about this time proceeded to murder the father. The general indignation against so enormous a crime made the king insist, that the clerk should be delivered up to the civil magistrate, and receive condign punishment; but Becket insisted on the privileges of the church, and maintained that no greater punishment could be inflicted upon him than degradation[6]. Henry laid hold of so favourable a cause to push the clergy with respect to all their usurpations, and to determine at once those controversies which daily multiplied, between the civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction. He summoned an assembly of all the prelates of England, and put them to this concise and decisive question: Whether or not they were willing to submit to the ancient laws and customs of the kingdom? The bishops answered equivocally, and the king left the assembly with marks of the highest indignation. They were struck with terror, and gave a general promise of observing the ancient customs[7].

BUT a declaration in general terms was not sufficient for Henry: he wanted to define exactly the limits between the rival powers. For this purpose he
A.D. 1164. summoned at Clarendon a general council of the bishops and nobles, to whom he submitted that great and important question. The barons were all gained to the king's party, either by the reasons he urged or by his superior authority, while the bishops were over-awed by the general combination against them. And the following laws, among others, commonly called the Constitutions of Clarendon, were voted without opposition: "That no chief tenant of the

6. Ibid. 7. R. Hoveden. *Hist. Quadr.*

"crown

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"crown shall be excommunicated, or have his "lands put under an interdict, without the king's "consent; that no appeals in spiritual causes shall "be carried before the Holy See, nor any clergyman "be suffered to depart the kingdom, unless with the "king's permission; that laymen shall not be ac-"cused in spiritual courts, except by legal and re-"putable promoters and witnesses; and lastly, which "was the great object aimed at, that churchmen, ac-"cused of any crime, shall be tried in the civil "courts[8]."

These articles were well calculated to prevent the principal abuses in ecclesiastical affairs, and put a final stop to the usurpations of the church; and having been passed in a national and civil assembly, they fully established the superiority of the legislature over all papal decrees and spiritual canons. But as Henry knew the bishops would take the first opportunity to deny the authority which had enacted these constitutions, he resolved they should set their seal to them, and give a promise to observe them. With this view they were reduced to writing; and none of the prelates dared to oppose the king's will except Becket, who at length consented. He set his seal to the constitutions; promised *legally*, with *good-faith*, and without *fraud* or *reserve* to observe them, and even took an oath to that purpose[9].

Henry, thinking he had now finally prevailed in this great contest, sent the Constitutions of Clarendon to Alexander III. to be ratified. But the pope, who plainly saw they were calculated to establish the independency of England from the Holy See, abrogated, annulled, and rejected them; and when Becket

8. M. Paris. *Hist. Quad.*

9. Fitz-Steph. Gervas.

 found

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found he might hope for the papal ſupport in an oppoſition to regal authority, he expreſſed the deepeſt ſorrow for his conceſſions. He redoubled his auſterities, as a puniſhment for his criminal compliance: and he refuſed to exerciſe any part of his eccleſiaſtical function, until he ſhould receive abſolution from the pope. Abſolution was readily granted him; after receiving which he ſet no bounds to his obſtinacy and ambition.

Henry, however, who was entirely maſter of his extenſive dominions, and ſure every one would obey his will except the man whom he had lifted into power, and to whoſe aſſiſtance he had truſted in forwarding his favourite project againſt the clergy, was now incenſed beyond all meaſure, and reſolved both to humble the church and make the prelate feel the weight of his indignation. He accordingly ſummoned Becket to give an account of his adminiſtration while chancellor, and to pay the balance due from the revenues of all the prelacies, abbies, and baronies, which had been ſubject to his management, during that time.

This proſecution, which ſeems to have been more dictated by paſſion than by juſtice, or even by ſound policy, threw Becket and all the clergy of England, into the utmoſt confuſion. Some biſhops adviſed him to reſign his ſee, on receiving an acquittal; others were of opinion, that he ought to ſubmit himſelf entirely to the king's mercy: for they were fully ſenſible, that accounts of ſo much intricacy could not be produced of a ſudden, in ſuch a manner as to ſatisfy a tribunal reſolved to ruin and oppreſs him. But the primate, thus puſhed to extremity, had too much courage to yield: he determined to brave all his enemies; to truſt to the ſacredneſs of his character for protection; and to defy the utmoſt efforts of royal indignation,

indignation, by involving his cause with that of God and the church. He therefore strictly prohibited his suffragans to assist at any such trial, or give their sanction to any sentence against him: he put himself and his see under the immediate protection of the vicegerent of Christ, and appealed to his Holiness against any penalty which his iniquitous judges might think proper to inflict upon him. "The indignation of a "great monarch," added he, "such as Henry, with "his sword, can only kill the body; while that of "the church, intrusted to the primate, can kill the "soul, and throw the disobedient into infinite and "eternal perdition [10]."

Appeals to Rome, even in spiritual causes, had been prohibited by the Constitutions of Clarendon, and consequently were become criminal by law; but an appeal in a civil cause, such as the king's demand upon Becket, was altogether new and unprecedented, and tended directly to the subversion of the English government. Henry, therefore, being now furnished with so much better a pretence for his violence, would probably have pushed this affair to the utmost against the primate, had he not retired beyond sea, and found patrons and protectors in the pope and the king of France.

The violent prosecution carried on against Becket at home, had a natural tendency to turn the public favour on his side, and to make men forget his former ingratitude towards the king, and his departure from all oaths and engagements, as well as the enormity of those ecclesiastical privileges, of which he affected to be the champion: and political considerations conspired with sympathy to procure him coun-

10. M. Paris. R. Hoveden. *Epist. St. Thom.* *Vit. St. Thom.*

tenance

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tenance and ſupport abroad. Philip, earl of Flanders, and Lewis, king of France, jealous of the riſing greatneſs of Henry, were glad of an opportunity to give him diſturbance in his government. They pretended to pity extremely the condition of the perſecuted archbiſhop; and the pope, whoſe intereſts were more immediately concerned in abetting his cauſe, honoured Becket with the higheſt marks of diſtinction. A reſidence was aſſigned him in the abbey of Pontigny, where he lived, for ſome years, in great magnificence, partly by a penſion out of the revenues of the abbey, and partly by the generoſity of the French monarch [11].

In the mean time the exiled primate filled all Europe with exclamation againſt the violence he had ſuffered. He compared himſelf to Chriſt, who had been condemned by a lay tribunal, and who was crucified anew in the preſent oppreſſions under which his Church laboured [12]. But complaint was a language little ſuited to the vehemence of Becket's temper, and in which he did not long acquieſce. Having reſigned his ſee into the hands of the pope, as a mark of ſubmiſſion, and received it again from the Head of the Church, with high encomiums on his piety and fortitude, he iſſued out a cenſure of excommunication againſt the king's chief miniſters by name, comprehending in general all thoſe who had favoured or obeyed the Conſtitutions of Clarendon: he abrogated and annulled thoſe Conſtitutions, abſolving all perſons from the oaths which they had taken to obſerve them; and he ſuſpended the ſpiritual thunder over Henry, only that he might avoid the blow by a timely repentance [13].

11. *Epiſt. St. Thom.* 12. Ibid. 13. M. Paris. R. Hoveden. Fitz-Steph. *Vit. St. Thom.*

HENRY, on the other hand, employed the temporal weapons still in his power. He suspended the payment of St. Peter's Pence, and made some advances towards an alliance with the emperor, Frederic Barbarossa, who was then engaged in violent wars with pope Alexander III. Both parties grew sick of contention, and each was afraid of the other. Although the vigour of Henry's government had confirmed his authority in all his dominions, he was sensible that his throne might be shaken by a sentence of excommunication; but as the trials hitherto made of the spiritual weapons by Becket had not succeeded to his expectation, and every thing remained quiet both in England and Normandy, nothing seemed impossible, on the other hand, to the vigilance and capacity of so great a prince. A.D. 1165. A.D. 1166.

THESE considerations produced frequent attempts at an accommodation, which was long obstructed by mutual jealousy. After all differences seemed adjusted, the king offered to sign the treaty, with a salvo to his *royal dignity*; a reservation which gave so much umbrage to the primate, that the negociation became fruitless. And in a second negociation, Becket, imitating Henry's example, offered to make his submissions with a salvo of the *honour of God* and the *liberties of the Church*; a proposal which, for a like reason, was offensive to the king, and rendered the treaty abortive. A third conference was broken off by the same means. And even in a fourth, when all things were settled, and the primate expected to be introduced to the king, Henry refused to grant him the kiss of peace, under pretence that he made a rash vow to the contrary. The want of this formality, insignificant as it may seem, prevented the conclusion of the treaty, it being regarded in those times as the only sure mark of forgiveness. A.D. 1168. A.D. 1169.

IN

PART I. A.D. 1169. In one of these conferences, at which the French king was present, Henry said to that monarch, "There have been many kings of England, some of "greater, some of less authority than myself: there "have also been many archbishops of Canterbury, "holy and good men, and entitled to every kind of "respect: let Becket only act towards me with the "same submission, which the greatest of his prede-"cessors has paid to the least of mine, and there shall "be no controversy between us [14]."

Lewis was so much struck with this state of the case, and with an offer which Henry made to submit his cause to the French clergy, that he could not forbear condemning Becket, and withdrawing his friendship for a time. But their common animosity against Henry soon produced a renewal of their former intimacy, and the primate revived his threats and excommunications. All difficulties between the parties, however, were at last got over, and Becket was permitted to return on conditions both honourable and A.D. 1170. advantageous: a certain proof how much Henry dreaded the interdict that was ready to be laid upon his dominions, if he had continued in disobedience to the church, and how terrible the thunder of the church must then have been, since it could humble a prince of so haughty a spirit!

This accommodation with Becket, though settled on terms by no means favourable to the crown, did not even procure Henry that temporary tranquillity which he had hoped to reap from it. Instead of being taught moderation by a six years exile, the primate was only animated with a spirit of revenge. Elated by the victory which he had obtained over his so-

14 *Vit. St. Thom.* lib. ii.

vereign,

foreign, he fet no bounds to his arrogance. On his arrival in England, where he went from town to town in a fort of triumphal cavalcade, he notified to the archbifhop of York the fentence of fufpenfion; and to the bifhops of London and Salifbury that of ex communication, which, at his folicitation, the pope had pronounced againft them, becaufe they had affifted at the coronation of prince Henry, whom the king had affociated in the royalty, during the abfence of the primate, and when an interdict was ready to be laid upon his dominions; a precaution thought neceffary to infure the fucceffion of that prince. By this violent meafure, therefore, Becket in effect declared war againft the king himfelf; yet, in fo doing, he appears to have been guided by policy as well as paffion. Apprehenfive left a prince of fuch profound fagacity fhould in the end prevail, he refolved to take all the advantage which his prefent victory gave him, and to difconcert the cautious meafures of the king, by the vehemence and vigour of his own conduct. Affured of fupport from Rome, he was little apprehenfive of dangers, which his courage taught him to defpife; and which, though followed by the moft fatal confequences, would ftill gratify his thirft of glory, and reward his ambition with the crown of martyrdom.

The fufpended and excommunicated prelates waited upon the king at Baieux in Normandy, where he then refided, and complained to him of the violent proceedings of Becket; and Henry, fenfible that his whole plan of operations was overturned, and the conteft revived, which he had endeavoured by fo many negociations to appeafe, was thrown into the moft violent agitation. "Will my fervants," exclaimed he, "ftill leave me expofed to the infolence

"of

PART I. A.D. 1170.

" of this ungrateful and imperious prieſt ?"—Theſe words ſeemed to call for vengeance; and four gentlemen of the king's houſhold, Reginald Fitz-Urſe, William de Tracy, Hugh de Moreville, and Richard Brito, communicating their thoughts to each other, and ſwearing to revenge their ſovereign's quarrel, ſecretly withdrew from court, and made the beſt of their way to England.

In the mean time Henry, informed of ſome menacing expreſſions which they had dropt, diſpatched a meſſenger after them, charging them to attempt nothing againſt the perſon of the primate. But theſe orders came too late to prevent their fatal purpoſe. Though they took different roads, to avoid ſuſpicion, they arrived nearly about the ſame time at Canterbury, where they found the primate in perfect ſecurity; and on his refuſing, with his uſual inſolence and obſtinacy, to take off the excommunication and ſuſpenſion of the biſhops, they murdered him in the church of St. Benedict, during the evening ſervice [15].

Such, my dear Philip, was the tragical death of Thomas à Becket; a prelate of the moſt lofty, intrepid, and inflexible ſpirit, who was able to cover from the world, and probably from himſelf, the efforts of pride and ambition under the diſguiſe of ſanctity, and of zeal for the intereſts of Chriſt and his church. His death confirmed to the clergy thoſe privileges which his oppoſition could not obtain. Though Henry had propoſed to have him arreſted, when informed of his renewed inſolence, he was no ſooner told of the primate's murder, than he was filled with the utmoſt conſternation. Interdicts and excommunications, weapons in

15. *Vit. St. Thom.* lib. iii. M. Paris. Benedict. Abbas.

themſelves

themſelves ſo terrible, would now, he foreſaw, be armed with double force: in vain ſhould he plead his innocence, and even his total ignorance of the fact; he was ſufficiently guilty, if the church thought fit to eſteem him ſo. Theſe conſiderations gave him the deepeſt and moſt unaffected concern, which he was at no pains to conceal. He ſhut himſelf up from the light of the ſun for three days, denying himſelf all manner of ſuſtenance; and as ſoon as he recovered, in any degree, his tone of mind, he ſent a ſolemn embaſſy to Rome, maintaining his innocence, and offering to ſubmit the whole affair to the deciſion of the Holy See [16].

LETTER XXVIII.

A.D. 1170.

A.D. 1171.

THE pope, flattered by this unexpected condeſcenſion, forbore to proceed to extremities againſt Henry; more eſpecially as he was ſenſible, that he could reap greater advantages from moderation than from violence. Meantime the clergy were not idle in magnifying the ſanctity of the murdered primate. Other ſaints had borne teſtimony, by their ſufferings, to the general doctrines of Chriſtianity, but Becket had ſacrificed his life for the power and privileges of the church. This peculiar merit challenged (nor without a ready concurrence) a tribute of gratitude to his memory from the whole body of the prieſthood. Endleſs were the panegyrics on his virtues; and the miracles wrought by his relics were more numerous, more nonſenſical, and more impudently atteſted, than thoſe which ever filled the legend of any ſaint or martyr. His ſhrine not only reſtored dead men to life; it alſo reſtored cows, dogs, and horſes. Preſents were ſent, and pilgrimages performed, from all parts of Chriſtendom, in order to obtain his interceſſion with Heaven: and it was computed, that in one year,

16. M. Paris. R. Hoveden.

above

PART I.
A.D. 1171.

above an hundred thouſand pilgrims arrived at Canterbury, and paid their devotions at his tomb [17].

As Henry found, however, that he was in no immediate danger from the thunder of the Vatican, he undertook the conqueſt of Ireland; an enterprize which he had long meditated, and for which he had obtained a bull from pope Adrian IV. but which had been deferred by reaſon of his quarrels with the primate. Of that iſland ſomething muſt here be ſaid.

IRELAND was probably firſt peopled from Britain, as Britain was from Gaul: and the inhabitants of all thoſe countries ſeem to have proceeded from the ſame Celtic origin, which is loſt in the moſt diſtant antiquity. The Iriſh, from the earlieſt accounts of hiſtory or tradition, had been buried in ignorance and barbariſm; and as their country was never conquered, or even invaded by the Romans, who communicated to the Weſtern world civility and ſlavery, they had remained almoſt in their primitive condition. The ſmall principalities, into which the iſland was divided, exerciſed perpetual hoſtilities againſt each other; and the uncertain ſucceſſion of the Iriſh princes was a continual ſource of domeſtic convulſions, the uſual title of each petty ſovereign to his principality being the murder of his predeceſſor. Courage and force, though exerciſed in the commiſſion of violence, were more honoured than pacific virtues; and the moſt ſimple arts of life, even tillage and agriculture, were almoſt wholly unknown among the rude natives of Ireland.

FROM this ſhort account of the ſtate of the country, you will be leſs ſurpriſed, my dear Philip, when you are told, That Henry, who landed at the head

17. Gul. Neubrig. J. Brompton. R. Hoveden.

of

of no more than five hundred knights and their attendants, in a progreſs which he made through that iſland, had little other occupation than to receive the homage of his new ſubjects. He left moſt of the Iriſh chieftains or princes in poſſeſſion of their ancient territories: he beſtowed lands on ſome of his Engliſh adventurers; and, after a ſtay of a few months, returned to Britain, where his preſence was much wanted, having annexed Ireland to the Engliſh crown[18].

The pope's two legates, Albert and Theodin, to whom was committed the trial of Henry's conduct in regard to the death of Becket, were arrived in Normandy, before his return, and had ſent frequent letters to England, full of menacing expreſſions. The king haſtened over to meet them; and was ſo fortunate as to conclude an accommodation with them, on terms more eaſy than could have been expected. He cleared himſelf by oath of all concern in the murder of Becket. But as the paſſion which he had expreſſed on account of that prelate's conduct, had probably been the cauſe of his violent death, he promiſed to ſerve three years againſt the Infidels, either in Spain or Paleſtine, if the pope ſhould require him; and he agreed to permit appeals to the Holy See, in eccleſiaſtical cauſes, on ſurety being given that nothing ſhould be attempted againſt the rights of his crown[19].

Henry ſeemed now to have reached the pinnacle of human grandeur and felicity. His dangerous controverſy with the church was at an end, and he appeared to be equally happy in his domeſtic ſituation and

18. Benedict. Abbas. M. Paris. *Expugnat. Hibern.* lib. i.
19. M. Paris. R. Hoveden.

PART I. A.D. 1173.

his political government. But this tranquillity was of ſhort duration. Prince Henry, at the inſtigation of Lewis VII. his father-in-law, inſiſted that his father ſhould reſign to him either the kingdom of England or the duchy of Normandy: and the king's two younger ſons, Geoffrey and Richard, alſo leagued with the court of France, by the perſuaſions of their mother, queen Eleanor; whoſe jealouſy, when in years, was as violent as her amorous paſſions, in youth.

Thus Europe ſaw, with aſtoniſhment, the beſt and moſt indulgent of parents obliged to maintain war againſt his whole family; and, what was ſtill more extraordinary, ſeveral princes not aſhamed to ſupport this abſurd and unnatural rebellion!—Not only Lewis king of France, but William king of Scotland, Philip earl of Flanders, and ſeveral other princes on the continent, beſides many barons, both Engliſh and Norman, eſpouſed the quarrel of young Henry and his brothers[20].

In order to break that alarming confederacy, the king of England humbled himſelf ſo far as to ſupplicate the court of Rome. Though ſenſible of the danger of eccleſiaſtical authority in temporal diſputes, he applied to the pope to excommunicate his enemies, and by that means reduce to obedience his undutiful children, whom he found ſuch reluctance to puniſh by the ſword. The bulls required were iſſued by Alexander III. but they not having the deſired effect, Henry was obliged to have recourſe to arms: and he carried on war ſucceſsfully, and at the ſame time, againſt France, Scotland, and his rebellious barons in England and Normandy.

20. Benedict. Abbas. R. Hoveden. W. Neubrig.

LETTER XXVIII.

A.D. 1174.

Meanwhile the Engliſh monarch, ſenſible of his danger, and of the effects of ſuperſtition on the minds of the people, went barefooted to Becket's tomb; proſtrated himſelf before the ſhrine of the ſaint; remained in faſting and prayer during a whole day; watched all night the holy reliques; and aſſembling a chapter of the monks, put a ſcourge of diſcipline into each of their hands, and preſented his bare ſhoulders to the láſhes which theſe incenſed eccleſiaſtics not ſparingly inflicted upon him!—Next morning he received abſolution; and his generals obtained, on the ſame day, a great victory over the Scots, which was regarded as a proof of his final reconciliation with Heaven, and with Thomas à Becket[21].

The victory over the Scots was gained near Alnwick, where their king was taken priſoner; and the ſpirit of the Engliſh rebels being broken by this blow, the whole kingdom was reſtored to tranquillity. It was deemed impious any longer to reſiſt a prince, who ſeemed to lie under the immediate protection of Heaven. The clergy exalted anew the merits and the powerful interceſſion of Becket; and Henry, inſtead of oppoſing their ſuperſtition, politically propagated an opinion ſo favourable to his intereſts[22]. Victorious in all quarters, crowned with glory, and abſolute maſter of his Engliſh dominions, he haſtened over to Normandy; where a peace was concluded with Lewis, and an accommodation brought about with his ſons. A.D. 1175.

Having thus, contrary to all expectation, extricated himſelf from a ſituation, in which his throne was expoſed to the utmoſt danger, Henry occupied himſelf for ſeveral years in the adminiſtration of juſtice,

21. Ibid. 22. R. Hoveden.

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enacting of laws, and in guarding against those inconveniencies, which either the past convulsions of the state, or the political institutions of that age, rendered unavoidable. The success which had attended him in all his wars, discouraged his neighbours from attempting any thing against him; so that he was enabled to complete his internal regulations without disturbance from any quarter. Some of these regulations deserve particular notice.

As the clergy, by the constitutions of Clarendon, which Henry endeavoured still to maintain, were subjected to a trial by the civil magistrate, it seemed but just to afford them the protection of that power to which they owed obedience: he therefore enacted a law, That the murderers of a clergyman should be tried before the justiciary, in the presence of the bishop or his official; and besides the usual punishment for murder, should be subjected to a forfeiture of their estates, and a confiscation of their goods and chattels[23]. He also passed an equitable law, That the goods of a vassal should not be seized for the debt of his lord, unless the vassal was surety for the debt; and that, in cases of insolvency, the rents of vassals should be paid to the creditors of the lord, not to the lord himself[24].

The partition of England into four divisions, and the appointment of itinerant judges, learned in the law, to go the circuit in each division, and to decide the causes in the counties, after the example of the commissaries of Lewis VI. and the *missi* of Charlemagne, was another important ordinance of the English monarch; a measure which had a direct tendency to curb the oppressions of the barons, and to pro-

23. Gervase. Diceto. 24. Benedict. Abbas.

tect

tect the inferior gentry or ſmall landholders, and the common people in their property[25]. And that there might be fewer obſtacles to the execution of juſtice, he was vigilant in demoliſhing all the new erected caſtles of the nobility, in England as well as in his foreign dominions. Nor did he permit any fortreſs to remain in the cuſtody of thoſe he found reaſon to ſuſpect[26]. LETTER XXVIII.

But leſt the kingdom ſhould be weakened by this peaceful policy, Henry publiſhed a famous decree, called an *Aſſize of Arms*; by which all his ſubjects were obliged to put themſelves in a ſituation to defend themſelves and the realm. Every perſon poſſeſſed of a ſingle knight's fee, was ordered to have a coat of mail, a helmet, a ſhield, and a lance: and the ſame accoutrements were required to be provided by every one, whether nobleman or gentleman, for whatever number of knight's fees he might hold. Every free layman, who had rents or goods to the value of ſixteen marks, was to be armed in like manner; every one that had ten marks was obliged to have an iron gorget, a cap of iron, and a lance; and all burgeſſes were to have a cap of iron, a lance, and a coat thickly quilted with wool, tow, or ſome ſuch materials called a *Wambais*[27].

While the Engliſh monarch was thus liberally employed in providing for the happineſs and ſecurity of his ſubjects, the king of France had fallen into a moſt abject ſuperſtition; and was induced, by a devotion more ſincere than Henry's, to make a pilgrimage to A.D. 1179. the tomb of Becket, in order to obtain his interceſſion for the recovery of Philip, his ſon and heir.

25. R. Hoveden. 26. Benedict. Abbas. 27. *Annal. Waverl.* Bened. Abbas.

PART I. A.D. 1179. Lewis, as the sagacious Hume remarks, with no less ingenuity than pleasantry, probably thought himself entitled to the favour of that saint, on account of their ancient intimacy: and hoped that Becket, whom he had protected while on earth, would not now, that he was so highly advanced in heaven, forget his old friend and benefactor, the young prince was restored to health; and, as was supposed, through the intercession of Becket. But the king himself, soon after his return, was struck with an apoplexy, which deprived him of his judgment; and Philip. II. afterwards surnamed Augustus, took upon him the administration, though only fifteen years of age. His father's death, which happened next year, opened his way to the throne; and he proved the ablest, and greatest monarch, that had governed France, since the age of Charlemagne. The superior age and experience of Henry, however, while they moderated his ambition, gave him such an ascendant over this prince, that no dangerous rivalship, for some time, arose between them. The English monarch, instead of taking advantage of Philip's youth, employed his good offices in composing the quarrels which arose in the royal family of France: and he was successful in mediating an accommodation between the king, his mother and uncles. But these services were ill requited by Philip; who, when he came to man's estate, encouraged Henry's sons in their ungrateful and undutiful behaviour towards their father[28].

A.D. 1180.

THE quarrels between the king of England and his family, however, were in some measure quieted by the death of his two sons, young Henry and his brother Geoffrey, who had both been in open rebellion against their parental sovereign; and the rivalship

A.D. 1187.

28. Benedict. Abbas. R. Hoveden.

ſhip between old Henry and Philip ſeemed, for a time, to give place to the general paſſion for the relief of the Holy Land. Both aſſumed the croſs, and impoſed a tax, amounting to the tenth of all moveables, on ſuch of their ſubjects as remained at home [29]. LETTER XXVIII. A. D. 1188.

BUT before this great enterprize could be carried into execution, many obſtacles were to be ſurmounted. Philip, ſtill jealous of Henry's greatneſs, entered into a private confederacy with prince Richard, now heir apparent to the Engliſh crown; and by working on his ambitious and impatient temper, perſuaded him to ſeek preſent power and independency at the expence of filial duty, and of the grandeur of that monarchy which he was one day to inherit. The king of England was therefore obliged, at an advanced age, to defend his dominions by arms, and to enter on a war with France, and with his eldeſt ſurviving ſon; A. D. 1189. a prince of great valour and popularity, who had ſeduced the chief barons of Poitou, Guienne, Anjou, and Normandy. Henry, as might be expected, was unſucceſsful; a misfortune which ſo much ſubdued his ſpirit, that he concluded a treaty on the moſt diſadvantageous terms. He agreed that Richard ſhould receive the homage, an oath of fealty of all his ſubjects, and that all his aſſociates ſhould be pardoned: and he engaged to pay the king of France a compenſation for the charges of the war [30].

BUT the mortification which Henry, who had been accuſtomed to give law to his enemies, received from theſe humiliating conditions was light, in compariſon of what he experienced from another cauſe on that occaſion. When he demanded a liſt of the perſons, to

29. Benedict. Abbas. 30. M. Paris. Bened. Abbas. R. Hoveden.

PART I.

whom he was to grant an indemnity for confederating with Richard, he was aſtoniſhed to find at the head of them the name of his favourite ſon John, who had always ſhared his confidence; and who, on account of his influence with the king, had often excited the jealouſy of Richard. Overloaded with cares and ſorrows, and robbed of his laſt domeſtic comfort, this unhappy father broke out into expreſſions of the utmoſt deſpair: he curſed the day of his birth; and beſtowed on his undutiful and ungrateful children a malediction, which he could never be brought to retract [31]. The more his heart was diſpoſed to friendſhip and affection, the more he reſented the barbarous return which his four ſons had ſucceſſively made to his parental care; and this fatal diſcovery, by depriving him of all that made life deſirable, quite broke his ſpirit, and threw him into a lingering fever, of which he ſoon after expired, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, at the caſtle of Chinon, near Saumur, in Normandy.

The character of Henry, both in public and private life, is almoſt without a blemiſh: and his natural endowments were equal to his moral qualities. He poſſeſſed every mental and perſonal accompliſhment, which can make a man either eſtimable or amiable. He was of a middle ſtature, ſtrong and well proportioned; his countenance was lively and engaging; his converſation affable and entertaining; his elocution eaſy, perſuaſive, and ever at command. He loved peace, but poſſeſſed both bravery and conduct in war; was provident without timidity, ſevere in the execution of juſtice without rigour, and temperate without auſterity. He is ſaid to have been of a very amorous complexion, and hiſtorians mention two of

31. R. Hoveden.

his

his natural ſons by Roſamond, the fair daughter of Lord Clifford; namely, Richard Longeſpee or Longſword (ſo called from the ſword which he uſually wore), who married the heireſs of Saliſbury; and Geoffrey, firſt biſhop of Lincoln and afterward archbiſhop of York. The other circumſtances of the ſtory commonly told of that lady ſeem to be fabulous, though adopted by many hiſtorical writers.

LIKE moſt of his predeceſſors of the Norman line, Henry ſpent more of his time on the continent than in England. He was ſurrounded by the Engliſh nobility and gentry, when abroad; and the French nobility and gentry attended him when he returned to this iſland. All foreign improvements, therefore, in literature and politeneſs, in laws and arts, ſeem now to have been tranſplanted into England: and the ſpirit of liberty, which ſtill continued to animate the breaſts of the native Engliſh, communicated itſelf to the barons, who were all yet of Norman extraction; and made them both more deſirous of independency themſelves, and more willing to indulge it to the people, whom they had at firſt affected to deſpiſe, and of reſtraining thoſe exorbitant prerogatives and arbitrary exactions, to which the neceſſities of war and the violence of conqueſt had originally obliged them to ſubmit.

THE effects of this ſecret revolution in the ſentiments of men, we ſhall afterward have occaſion to trace. At preſent I muſt return to the affairs of Germany; remarking by the way, that Henry II. left only two legitimate ſons, Richard, who ſucceeded him, and John, commonly denominated Lack Land, becauſe he inherited no territory, though his father, at one time, had intended to leave him a large ſhare of his extenſive dominions.

LETTER XXIX.

The GERMAN *Empire and its Dependencies.* ROME *and the* ITALIAN STATES, *under* FREDERIC I. *surnamed* BARBAROSSA, *with some Account of the third* CRUSADE.

LETTER XXIX.

A. D. 1152.

I HAVE already observed, my dear Philip, That Frederic duke of Suabia, surnamed Barbarossa, a prince of great courage and capacity, was unanimously elected emperor on the death of his uncle Conrad III. not only by the Germans, but also by the Lombards, who gave their votes on that occasion. His election was no sooner known, than almost all the princes of Europe sent ambassadors to Mersburg, to congratulate him on his elevation. The king of Denmark went thither in person for the investiture of his dominions; and Frederic crowned the Danish monarch with his own hand, and received the oath of allegiance from him as a vassal of the empire [1].

BUT although the reign of Frederic thus auspiciously commenced, it was soon involved in troubles, which required all his courage and capacity to surmount, and which it would be tedious circumstantially to relate. I shall therefore only observe, That, after having settled the affairs of Germany, by restoring Bavaria to Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony, the emperor marched into Italy, in order to compose
A. D. 1155. the disturbances of that country, and be crowned by the pope, in imitation of his predecessors [2].

ADRIAN IV. who then filled St. Peter's chair, was an Englishman, and a great example of what may be

1. *Annal de l' Emp.* tom. i.

2. Id. ibid.

done

done by perſonal merit and good fortune. The ſon of a mendicant, and long a mendicant himſelf, ſtrolling from country to country, he was received as a ſervant to the canons of St. Rufus in Provence; where, after a time, he was admitted a monk, was raiſed to the rank of abbot, and general of the order, and at length to the pontificate. Adrian was inclined to crown a vaſſal, but afraid of giving himſelf a maſter: he therefore inſiſted upon the Roman ceremonial; which required, that the emperor ſhould proſtrate himſelf before the pope, kiſs his feet, hold his ſtirrup, and lead the holy father's white palfrey by the bridle the diſtance of nine Roman paces.

LETTER XXIX.

A.D. 1155.

Frederic looked upon this ceremony as an inſult, and refuſed to ſubmit to it. On his refuſal the cardinals fled, as if the emperor had given the ſignal of civil war; and the Roman chancery, which kept a regiſter of every thing of this kind, aſſured him, that his predeceſſors had always complied with theſe forms. The ceremony of kiſſing the pope's feet, which he knew to be the eſtabliſhed cuſtom, did not hurt Frederic's pride; but he could not bear that of holding the bridle and the ſtirrup, which he conſidered as an innovation: and indeed it does not appear that any emperor, except Lothario, ſucceſſor to Henry V. had complied with this part of the ceremony. Frederic's pride, however, at length digeſted theſe two ſuppoſed affronts, which he conſtrued only as empty marks of Chriſtian humility, though the court of Rome viewed them as proofs of real ſubjection [3].

But the emperor's difficulties were not yet over. The citizens of Rome ſent him a deputation, inſo-

3. Bunau, *Hiſt. Fred. I.* Murat. *Antiq. Ital.*

lently

PART I. A.D. 1155.

lently demanding the restoration of their ancient form of government, and offering to stipulate with him for the imperial dignity. "Charlemagne and Otho "conquered you by their valour," replied Frederic, "and I am your master by right of succession: it is "mine to prescribe laws, and yours to receive them." With these words he dismissed the deputies, and was inaugurated without the walls of the city by the pope; who put the sceptre into his hand, and the crown upon his head [4].

A.D. 1156.

The nature of the empire was then so little understood, and the pretensions so contradictory, That, on the one hand, the Roman citizens mutinied, and a great deal of blood was spilt, because the pope had crowned the emperor, without the consent of the senate and the people; and, on the other hand, pope Adrian, by all his letters, declared, That he had conferred the *benefice* of the Roman empire on Frederic I. "*beneficium imperii Romani*;" now the word *beneficium* literally signified a fief, though his Holiness explained it otherwise. Adrian likewise exhibited, publicly in Rome, a picture of the emperor Lothario on his knees before pope Alexander II. holding both his hands joined between those of the pontiff, which was the distinguishing mark of vassalage; and on the picture was this inscription:

Rex venit ante fores, jurans prius urbis honores;
Post homo fit, papæ; sumit quo dante coronam [5].

"Before the gates the king appears,
"Rome's honours to maintain he swears;
"Then to the pope sinks lowly down,
"Who grants him the imperial crown."

4. Id. ibid. 5. *Annal. de l' Emp.* tom. i. Bunau, ubi sup.

FRE-

LETTER XXIX.

A.D. 1157.

Frederic, who had retired to his German dominions, was at Beſançon, when he received information of Adrian's inſolence; and having expreſſed his diſpleaſure at it, a cardinal then preſent made anſwer, "If he does not hold the empire of the pope, of whom "does he hold it?" Enraged at this impertinent ſpeech, Otho, count Palatine, would have run the author of it through the body, with the ſword which he wore as marſhal of the empire, had not Frederic prevented him. The cardinal immediately fled, and the pope entered into a treaty.—The Germans then made uſe of no argument but force, and the court of Rome ſheltered itſelf under the ambiguity of its expreſſions. Adrian declared, that *benefice*, according to his idea, ſignified a *favour*, not a *fief*; and he promiſed to put out of the way the painting of the conſecration of Lothario [6].

A few obſervations will not here be improper. Adrian IV. beſieged by William I. king of Sicily, in Benevento, gave up to him ſeveral eccleſiaſtical pretenſions. He conſented that Sicily ſhould never have any legate, nor be ſubject to any appeal to the ſee of Rome, except with the king's permiſſion. Since that time, the kings of Sicily, though the only princes who are vaſſals of the pope, are in a manner popes themſelves in their own iſland. The Roman pontiffs, thus at once adored and abuſed, ſomewhat reſembled, to borrow a remark from Voltaire, the idols which the Indians ſcourge to obtain favours from them.

Adrian, however, fully revenged himſelf upon other princes who ſtood in need of him. He wrote in the following manner to Henry II. of England. "There is no doubt, and you acknowledge it, That

6. Id. ibid.

"Ireland,

PART I. A.D. 1157. "Ireland, and all the islands which have received "the faith, appertain to the Roman church; but if "you want to take possession of that island, in order "to banish vice from it, to enforce the observance of "the Christian doctrines, and with an intent of pay- "ing the yearly tribute of St. Peter's penny for every "house, we with pleasure grant you our permission "to conquer it [7]." Thus an English beggar, become bishop of Rome, bestowed Ireland, by his sole authority, upon an English king, who wanted to usurp it, and who had power to carry his design into execution.

THE intrepid activity of Frederic Barbarossa had not only to subdue the pope, who disputed the empire; Rome, which refused to acknowledge a master, and many other cities of Italy, that asserted their independency; he had, at the same time, the Bohemians, who had mutinied against him, to humble; and also the Poles, with whom he was at war. Yet
A.D. 1158. all this he effected. He conquered Poland, and erected it into a tributary kingdom: he quelled the tumults in Bohemia; and the king of Denmark is said to have renewed to the empire the homage for his dominions [8]. He secured the fidelity of the German princes, by rendering himself formidable to foreign nations; and flew back to Italy, where hopes of independency had arisen, in consequence of his troubles and perplexities. He found every thing there in confusion; not so much from the efforts of the several cities to recover their freedom, as from that party-rage, which constantly prevailed, as I have frequently had occasion to observe, at the election of a pope.

7. M. Paris. Girald. Cambr. Spelm. *Concil.*
8. *Annal. de l' Emp.*

ON

ON the death of Adrian IV. two oppoſite factions tumultuouſly elected two perſons, known by the names of Victor IV. and Alexander III. The emperor's allies neceſſarily acknowledged the pope choſen by him; and thoſe princes, who were jealous of the emperor, acknowledged the other. What was the ſhame and ſcandal of Rome, therefore became the ſignal of diviſion over all Europe. Victor IV. Frederic's pope, had Germany, Bohemia, and one half of Italy on his ſide. The other kingdoms and ſtates ſubmitted to Alexander III. in honour of whom the Milaneſe, who were avowed enemies to the emperor, built the city of Alexandria. In vain did Frederic's party endeavour to have it called Cæſaria, the pope's name prevailed: and it was afterwards called out of deriſion, *Alexandria del Paglia*, or *Alexandria built of ſtraw*, on account of the meanneſs of its buildings [9]. A.D. 1159.

HAPPY had it been for Europe, if that age had produced no diſputes attended with more fatal conſequences; but unfortunately that was not the caſe. Milan, for maintaining its independency, was by the emperor's orders razed to the foundations, and ſalt ſtrewed upon its ruins; Breſcia and Placentia were diſmantled by the conqueror; and all the other cities, which had aſpired at independency, were deprived of their privileges. A.D. 1162.

POPE Alexander III. however, who had excited theſe revolts, and had been obliged to take refuge in France, returned to Rome, after the death of his rival; and, at his return, the civil war was renewed. The emperor cauſed another pope to be elected, under the appellation of Paſcal III. who alſo dying in a ſhort time, a third was nominated by Frederic, A.D. 1164.

9. Murat. *Antiq. Ital.*

under

PART I. A.D. 1167. under the title of Calixtus III. Meanwhile Alexander was not intimidated. He folemnly excommunicated the emperor; and the flames of civil difcord, which he had raifed, continued to fpread. The chief cities of Italy fupported by the Greek emperor, and A.D. 1168. the king of Sicily, entered into an affociation for the defence of their liberties; and the pope, at length, proved ftronger by negociating than the emperor by fighting. The imperial army, worn out by fatigues and difeafes, was defeated by the confederates, and Frederic himfelf narrowly efcaped being made prifoner. About the fame time he was defeated at A.D. 1176. fea by the Venetians, and his eldeft fon Henry, who commanded his fleet, fell into the hands of the enemy. Pope Alexander, in honour of this victory, failed out into the Adriatic Sea, or Gulf of Venice, accompanied by the whole fenate; and, after having pronounced a thoufand benedictions on that element, threw into it a ring as a mark of his gratitude and affection. Hence the origin of that ceremony which is annually performed by the Venetians, under the notion of efpoufing the Adriatic [10].

In confequence of thefe misfortunes, the emperor was difpofed to an accommodation with the pope; but his pride would not permit him to make any humiliating advance. He therefore rallied his troops, and exerted himfelf with fo much vigour in repairing his lofs, that he was foon in a condition to rifk another battle, in which his enemies were worfted; and being no lefs a politician than a general, he feized this fortunate moment to fignify his defire of peace to Alexander III. who received the propofal with great joy. Venice had the honour of being the place of reconciliation. The emperor, the pope, and a

10. Id. ibid.

number

number of princes and cardinals, repaired to that city, then miſtreſs of the ſea, and one of the wonders of the world. There the emperor put an end to his bloody diſpute with the ſee of Rome, by acknowledging the pope, kiſſing his feet, and holding his ſtirrup while he mounted his mule [11]. A. D. 1177.

This reconciliation was attended with the ſubmiſſion of all the towns in Italy, which had entered into an aſſociation for their mutual defence. They obtained a general pardon, and were left at liberty to uſe their own laws and forms of government, but were obliged to take the oath of allegiance to the emperor, as their ſuperior lord.

Calixtus, the antipope, finding himſelf abandoned by the emperor, in conſequence of that treaty, made his ſubmiſſions to Alexander III. who received him with great humanity; and in order to prevent, for the future, thoſe ſchiſms which had ſo often attended the election of popes, his Holineſs called a general council, in which it was decreed, That no pope ſhould be deemed duly elected, without having the votes of two thirds of the college of cardinals in his favour [12]. A.D. 1179.

The affairs of Italy being thus ſettled, the emperor returned to Germany; where Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony, had raiſed freſh troubles. He was a proud, haughty, and turbulent prince, like moſt of his predeceſſors, and not only oppreſſed his own ſubjects, but committed violences againſt all his neighbours. His natural pride was not diminiſhed by his alliance with the king of England, whoſe daughter he had married. Glad of an opportunity of

11. Bunau, *Hiſt. Fred. I.*

12. Moſheim, *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* vol. iii.

PART I. A.D. 1179. being revenged upon Henry, who had abandoned him in his Italian expedition, Frederick convoked a diet at Goslar, where the duke was put to the ban of the empire; and, after a variety of struggles, the sentence was put in execution. He was divested of all A.D. 1180. his dominions, which were bestowed upon different vassals of the empire.

A.D. 1181. SENSIBLE of his folly when too late, the degraded duke threw himself at the emperor's feet, and begged with great humility that some of his territories might be restored. Frederic, touched with his unfortunate condition, referred him to a diet of the empire at Erfurt. There Henry endeavoured to acquit himself of the crimes laid to his charge. But as it was impracticable immediately to withdraw his fiefs from the present possessors, the emperor advised him to reside in England, until the princes who had shared his dominions could be persuaded to relinquish them; and he promised that, in the mean time, no attempts should be made upon the territories of Brunswick or Lunenburg, which he would protect in behalf of Henry's children. In compliance with this advice, the duke retired to England, where he was hospitably entertained by his father-in-law, Henry II. and there his wife bore him a fourth son, from whom the present house of Brunswick, and consequently the present royal family of England, is descended[13].

WHILE tranquillity was, in this manner, happily restored to Italy and Germany, the Oriental Christians were in the utmost distress. The great Saladin, a prince of Persian extraction, and born in the small country of the Curdes, a nation always warlike, and always free, having fixed himself, by his bravery and

13. *Annal. de l' Emp.* tom. i.

conduct, on the throne of Egypt, began to extend his conquests over all the East; and finding the settlements of the Christians in Palestine an invincible obstacle to the progress of his arms, he bent the whole force of his policy and valour to subdue that small and barren, but important territory. Taking advantage of the dissensions which prevailed among the champions of the Cross, and having secretly gained the count of Tripoli, who commanded their armies, he invaded Palestine with a mighty force; and, aided by the treachery of that count, gained at Tiberias a complete victory over them, which utterly broke the power of the already languishing kingdom of Jerusalem. The holy city itself fell into his hands, after A.D. 1187. a feeble resistance; the kingdom of Antioch also was almost entirely subdued by his arms; and, except some maritime towns, nothing of importance remained of those boasted conquests, which, near a century before, had cost the efforts of all Europe to acquire [14].

Clement III. who then filled the papal chair, no sooner received these melancholy tidings, than he ordered a crusade to be preached through all the countries in Christendom. Europe was filled with grief and consternation at the progress of the Infidels in Asia. To give a check to it seemed the common cause of Christians. Frederic Barbarossa, who was at that time employed in making regulations for the preservation of the peace and good order of Germany, assembled a diet at Mentz, in order to deliberate with A.D. 1188. the states of the empire on this subject. He took the cross; and his example was followed by his son Frederic, duke of Suabia, together with sixty-eight of the most eminent German nobles, ecclesiastics as well

14. Maimbourg, *Hist. des Croisades.*

PART I. A.D. 1188. as laymen. The rendezvous was appointed at Ratiſbon; and in order to prevent the inconvenience of too great a multitude, the emperor decreed, that no perſon ſhould take the croſs who could not afford to expend three marks of ſilver. But notwithſtanding that regulation, wiſely calculated to prevent thoſe neceſſities which had ruined the former armies, ſo great was the zeal of the Germans, that adventurers aſſembled to the number of one hundred and fifty thouſand fighting men, well armed, and provided with neceſſaries for the expedition[15].

BEFORE his departure, Frederic made a progreſs through the principal cities of Germany, accompanied by his ſon Henry, to whom he intended to commit the government of the empire; and that he might omit nothing neceſſary to the preſervation of peace and harmony during his abſence, he endeavoured ſo to regulate the ſucceſſion to his dominions as that none of his children ſhould have cauſe to complain, or any pretext to diſturb the public tranquillity.

A.D. 1189. THE emperor in perſon marched at the head of thirty thouſand men, by the way of Vienna, to Preſburg, where he was joined by the reſt of his army. He thence proceeded through Hungary, into the territories of the Greek emperor; who, notwithſtanding his profeſſions of friendſhip, had been detached from the intereſts of Frederic by Saladin's promiſes and inſinuations, and took all opportunities of harraſſing the Germans in their march. Incenſed at this perfidy, Frederic laid the country under contribution; took and plundered Philippolis; defeated a body of Greek troops that attacked him by ſurprize; and compelled Iſaacus Angelus, emperor of Conſtanti-

nople,

15. Id. ibid. Bunau, ubi ſupra.

A.D. 1190.

nople, to ſue for peace. He wintered at Adrianople; croſſed the Helleſpont in the ſpring; refreſhed his troops a ſhort time at Laodicea; defeated the Turks in ſeveral battles; took and pillaged the city of Iconium, and croſſed mount Taurus. All Aſia was filled with the terror of his name. He ſeemed to be among the ſoldiers of the croſs, what Saladin was among the Turks; an able politician, and a good general, tried by fortune. The Oriental Chriſtians therefore flattered themſelves with certain relief from his aſſiſtance. But their hopes were ſuddenly blaſted. This great prince, who was an expert ſwimmer, ventured to bathe in the cold river Cydnus, in order to refreſh himſelf after fatigue in a ſultry climate, perhaps in emulation of the Macedonian conqueror; and by that means caught a mortal diſtemper, which at once put an end to his life and his bold enterprize [16].

THUS unfortunately periſhed Frederic I. in the ſixty-ninth year of his age, and the thirty-eighth of his reign; a prince of a firm ſpirit, and ſtrong talents, who had the good of his country always at heart, and who ſupported the dignity of the empire with equal courage and reputation. He was ſucceeded in the imperial throne by his ſon Henry VI. ſurnamed the Severe. But before I enter on the reign of that prince, my dear Philip, I muſt carry forward the hiſtory of the third cruſade, continued by the kings of France and England.

16. Maimbourg, ubi ſup. Bunau, *Hiſt. Fred. I.*

LETTER XXX.

FRANCE *and* ENGLAND, *from the Death of* HENRY II. *to the granting of the* GREAT CHARTER *by King* JOHN, *with a farther Account of the third* CRUSADE.

LETTER XXX.
A. D. 1189.

THE death of Henry II. was an event esteemed equally fortunate by his son Richard, and by Philip Augustus, king of France. Philip had lost a dangerous and implacable enemy, and Richard got possession of that crown which he had so eagerly pursued. Both seemed to consider the recovery of the Holy Land as the sole purpose of their government; yet neither was so much impelled to that pious undertaking by superstition, as by the love of military glory. The king of England, in particular, carried so little the appearance of sanctity in his conduct, that, when advised by a zealous preacher of the crusade (who from that merit had acquired the privilege of speaking the boldest truths) to rid himself of his pride, avarice, and voluptuousness, which the priest affectedly called the king's three favourite daughters; Richard promptly replied, "You counsel well!— "and I hereby dispose of the first to the Templars, "of the second to the Benedictines, and of the third "to my bishops [1]."

THE reiterated calamaties attending the former crusades, taught the kings of France and England the necessity of trying another road to the Holy Land. They determined to conduct their armies thither by sea; to carry provisions along with them; and, by means of their naval power, to maintain an open

1. M. Westminst.

com-

A. D. 1190.

communication with their own ſtates, and with all the weſtern parts of Europe. The firſt place of rendezvous was the plains of Vezelay, on the borders of Burgundy, when Philip and Richard found their armies amount to one hundred thouſand men: an invincible force, animated by religion and glory, and conducted by two warlike monarchs. They renewed their promiſes of mutual friendſhip; pledged their faith not to invade each other's dominions during the cruſade, and exchanging the oaths of all their barons and prelates to the ſame effect, then ſeparated. Philip took the road to Genoa, Richard that to Marſeilles, both with a view of meeting their fleets, which were ſeverally appointed to aſſemble in thoſe harbours[2]. They put to ſea together; and both, nearly about the ſame time, were obliged by ſtreſs of weather to take ſhelter in Meſſina, where they were detained during the whole winter. This event laid the foundation of animoſities between them, which were never afterwards entirely removed, and proved ultimately fatal to their armament.

But before I proceed to that ſubject, a few words relative to the character and circumſtances of the two princes will be neceſſary. Philip and Richard, though profeſſed friends, were by the ſituation and extent of their dominions rivals in power; by their age and inclinations, competitors for glory: and theſe cauſes of emulation, which might have ſtimulated them to martial efforts, had they been acting in the field againſt the common enemy, ſoon excited quarrels, during their preſent leiſure, between monarchs of ſuch fiery tempers. Equally haughty, ambitious, intrepid, and inflexible, they were irritated at the leaſt appearance of injury, and they were incapable, by

2. R. Hoveden. Gauf. Viniſauf. *Iter. Hieroſol.* lib. ii.

PART I. A. D. 1190.

mutual condeſcenſions to efface thoſe occaſions of complaint, which mutually aroſe between them. Nor were other ſources of diſcord wanting.

WILLIAM II. the laſt king of Naples and Sicily, had married Joan, ſiſter to Richard; and that prince dying without iſſue, had bequeathed his dominions to his paternal ſiſter Conſtantia, the only legitimate offspring ſurviving of Roger, the Norman, who conquered thoſe ſtates from the Greeks and Saracens, as we have already ſeen. Henry VI. then emperor of Germany, had married this princeſs, in expectation of that rich inheritance; but Tancred her natural brother, by his intereſt among the Sicilian nobles, had acquired poſſeſſion of the throne, and maintained his claim againſt all the efforts of the empire. The approach of the cruſaders naturally gave the king of Sicily apprehenſions for his unſtable government: and he was uncertain whether he had moſt reaſon to dread the preſence of the French or Engliſh monarch. Philip was engaged in ſtrict alliance with the emperor, Tancred's competitor; Richard was diſguſted by his rigour towards the queen-dowager, whom he confined in Palermo, becauſe ſhe had oppoſed his ſucceſſion to the crown. Senſible therefore of the delicacy of his ſituation, Tancred reſolved to pay his court to both theſe princes: nor was he unſucceſsful in his endeavours. He perſuaded Philip, that it would be highly improper to interrupt the expedition againſt the Infidels by any attack upon a Chriſtian prince; he reſtored queen Joan to her liberty, and even found means to make an alliance with Richard. But before this friendſhip was cemented, Richard, jealous both of Tancred and the inhabitants of Meſſina, had taken up his quarters in the ſuburbs, and poſſeſſed himſelf of a ſmall fort, which commanded the harbour. The citizens took umbrage. Mutual inſults

and

LETTER XXX.
A. D. 1190.

and injuries paſſed between them and the Engliſh ſoldiers. Philip, who had quartered his troops in the town, endeavoured to accommodate the quarrel, and held a conference with Richard for that purpoſe.

WHILE the two kings, who met in the open fields, were engaged in diſcourſe on this ſubject, a body of the Sicilians ſeemed to be drawing towards them. Richard, always ardent and impatient, puſhed forward, in order to learn the cauſe of that extraordinary movement; and the Engliſh adventurers, inſolent from their power, and inflamed by former animoſities, wanting only a pretence to attack the Meſſineſe, chaſed them from the field, drove them into the town, and entered with them at the gates. The king employed his authority to reſtrain them from pillaging or maſſacring the defenceleſs inhabitants; but he gave orders that the ſtandard of England, in token of his victory, ſhould be erected on the walls. Philip, who conſidered the city of Meſſina as his quarters, exclaimed againſt the arrogance of the Engliſh monarch, and ordered ſome of his troops to pull down the ſtandard. But Richard informed him by a meſſenger, That although he would willingly himſelf remove that ground of offence, he would not permit it to be done by others: and if the French king attempted ſuch an inſult on his dignity, he ſhould not ſucceed but by the utmoſt effuſion of blood. Philip, ſatisfied with this ſpecies of haughty condeſcenſion, recalled his orders, and the difference was ſeemingly accommodated; but the ſeeds of rancour and jealouſy ſtill remained in the breaſts of the two monarchs [3].

3. Bened. Abbas. M. Paris. G. Vinifauf, ubi ſub.

AFTER

PART I.
A.D. 1191.

After leaving Sicily, the English fleet was assailed by a furious tempest. It was driven on the coast of Cyprus, and some of the vessels were wrecked near Lemisso in that island. Isaac Comnenus, despot of Cyprus, who had assumed the magnificent title of emperor, pillaged the ships that were stranded, and threw the seamen and passengers into prison. But Richard, who arrived soon after, took ample vengeance on him for the injury. He disembarked his troops; defeated the tyrant who opposed his landing; entered Lemisso by storm; gained next day a second victory; obliged Isaac to surrender at discretion; established governors over the island; and afterwards conferred it as a sovereignty upon Guy of Lusignan, the expelled king of Jerusalem. Thrown into prison, and loaded with irons, the Greek prince complained of the little respect with which he was treated. Richard ordered silver fetters to be made for him; and this phantom of an emperor, pleased with the distinction, expressed a sense of the generosity of his conqueror [4]!

Richard, by reason of these transactions at Cyprus, was later of arriving in Asia than Philip. But the English monarch came opportunely to partake in the glory of the siege of Ptolemais; a sea-port town, which had been invested above two years by the united forces of all the Christians in Palestine, and defended by the utmost efforts of Saladin and the Saracens. Before this place, Frederic, duke of Suabia, son of the emperor Barbarossa, and who succeeded him in the command, together with the remains of the German army, had perished. The arrival of the armies of France and England, however, with Philip and Richard at their head, inspired new life into the

4 Ibid.

besiegers: and the emulation between these rival kings, and rival nations, produced extraordinary acts of valour. Richard especially, animated by a more precipitate courage than Philip, and more agreeable to the romantic spirit of that age, drew to himself the attention of all the religious and military world, and acquired a great and splendid reputation. Ptolemais was taken. The Saracen garrison, reduced to the last extremity, surrendered themselves prisoners of war; and the governor engaged that Saladin, besides paying a large sum for their ransom, should release two thousand five hundred Christian prisoners of distinction, and restore the wood of the true cross [5].

Thus, my dear Philip, was this famous siege, which had so long engaged the attention of all Europe and Asia, brought to the desired close, after the loss of three hundred thousand men, exclusive of persons of superior rank; six archbishops, twelve bishops, forty earls, and five hundred barons. But the French monarch, instead of pursuing the hopes of farther conquest, and redeeming the holy city from slavery, being disgusted with the ascendant assumed and acquired by the king of England, and having views of many advantages, which he might reap by his presence in Europe, declared his resolution of returning to France: and he pleaded his ill state of health as an excuse for his desertion of the common cause. He left however to Richard ten thousand of his troops, under the command of the duke of Burgundy, and he renewed his oath never to commit hostilities against that prince's territories during his absence. But no sooner did he reach Italy than he applied to pope

5. Benedict Abbas. G. Vinisauf. lib. iii. Saladin refused to ratify the treaty; and the Saracen prisoners, to the number of five thousand, were inhumanely butchered. Id. ibid.

Celestine

PART I.

A.D. 1191.

Celestine III. for a dispensation from his vow; and, though denied that request, he still proceeded, but after a more concealed manner, in his unjust projects. He seduced prince John, king Richard's brother, from his allegiance, and did every thing possible to blacken the character of that monarch himself; representing him as privy to the murder of the marquis de Montferrat, who had been taken off, as was well known, by an Asiatic chief, called *The old Man of the Mountain*, the prince of the *Assassins*: a word which has found its way into most European languages, from the practice of these bold and determined ruffians, against whom no precaution was sufficient to guard any man, how powerful soever, and whose resentment the marquis had provoked [6].

BUT Richard's heroic actions in Palestine were the best apology for his conduct. The Christian adventurers under his command determined, on opening the

A.D. 1192. campaign, to attempt the siege of Ascalon, in order to prepare the way for that of Jerusalem; and they marched along the sea-coast with that intention. Saladin proposed to intercept their passage, and placed himself on the road with an army of three hundred thousand combatants. On this occasion was fought one of the greatest battles of that age, and the most celebrated for the military genius of the commanders; for the number and valour of the troops, and for the great variety of events which attended it. The right wing of the Christian army, commanded by d'Avesness, and the left, conducted by the duke of Burgundy, were both broken in the beginning of the day, and in danger of being utterly defeated; when Richard, who commanded in the centre, and led on the main body, restored the battle. He attacked the ene-

6. W. Heming. J. Brompton. G. Vinisauf. lib. iii. Rymer, vol. i.

my

LETTER XXX.

A.D. 1192.

my with admirable intrepidity and presence of mind; performed the part of a consummate general and gallant soldier; and not only gave his two wings leisure to recover from their confusion, but obtained a complete victory over the Saracens, forty thousand of whom are said to have been slain in the field [7]. Ascalon soon after fell into the hands of the Christians: other sieges were carried on with success; and Richard was even able to advance within sight of Jerusalem, the great object of his hopes and fears, when he had the mortification to find, that he must abandon all thoughts of immediate success, and put a stop to the career of victory.

ANIMATED with an enthusiastic ardour for these holy wars, the champions of the cross, at first, laid aside all regard to safety or interest in the prosecution of their pious purpose; and, trusting to the immediate assistance of Heaven, set nothing before their eyes but fame and victory in this world, and a crown of glory in the next. But long absence from home, fatigue, disease, famine, and the varieties of fortune which naturally attend war, had gradually abated that fury which nothing was able instantly to allay or withstand. Every leader, except the king of England, expressed a desire of speedily returning to Europe; so that there appeared an absolute necessity of abandoning, for the present, all hopes of farther conquest, and of securing the acquisitions of the adventurers by an accommodation with Saladin. Richard therefore concluded a truce with that monarch; stipulating that Ptolemais, Joppa, and other sea-port towns of Palestine, should remain in the hands of the Christians, and that every one of that religion should have liberty to perform his pilgrimage to Jerusalem unmolested [8].

7. G. Vinisauf. lib. iv. lib. vi.

8. W. Heming. lib. ii. G. Vinisauf.

This

PART I. A.D. 1192.

This truce was concluded for three years, three months, three weeks, three days, and three hours; a magical number, ſuggeſted by a ſuperſtition well ſuited to the object of the war.

Saladin died at Damaſcus, ſoon after concluding the truce with the leaders of the cruſade. He was a prince of great generoſity and valour; and it is truly memorable, That, during his fatal illneſs, he ordered his winding-ſheet to be carried as a ſtandard through every ſtreet of the city, while a crier went before the perſon who bore that enſign of mortality, and proclaimed with a loud voice, "This is all that remains "to the mighty Saladin, the conqueror of the Eaſt!" His laſt will is alſo remarkable. He ordered charities to be diſtributed to the poor, without diſtinction of Jew, Chriſtian, or Mahometan [9]; intending by this legacy to inculcate, that all men are brethren, and that, when we would aſſiſt them, we ought not to inquire what they believe, but what they feel: an admirable leſſon to Chriſtians, though from an Infidel! But the advantage of ſcience, of moderation, and humanity were at that time indeed entirely on the ſide of the Saracens.

After the truce Richard had no further buſineſs in Paleſtine, and the intelligence which he received of the intrigues of his brother John and the king of France, made him ſenſible that his preſence was neceſſary in Europe. Not thinking it ſafe, however, to paſs through France, he ſailed to the Adriatic; and being ſhipwrecked near Aquileia, he put on the habit of a pilgrim, with an intention of taking his journey ſecretly through Germany. But his liberalities and expences betrayed him. He was arreſted and

9. Id. ibid.

thrown

thrown into prison by Leopold, duke of Austria, whom he had offended at the siege of Ptolemais, and who sold him to the emperor Henry VI. who had taken offence at Richard's alliance with Tancred, king of Sicily, and was glad to have him in his power [10]. Thus the gallant king of England, who had filled the whole world with his renown, found himself, during the most critical state of his affairs, confined to a dungeon, in the heart of Germany; loaded with irons, and entirely at the mercy of his enemy, the basest and most sordid of mankind [11].

LETTER XXX.

A.D. 1193.

While the high spirit of Richard suffered every insult and indignity in Germany, the king of France employed every means of force and intrigue, of war and negociation, against the dominions and the person of his unfortunate rival. He made the emperor the largest offers, if he would deliver into his hands the royal prisoner: he formed an alliance by marriage with Denmark,

10. W. Neubr. M. Paris.

11. *Chron.* T. Wykes. Not only the place of Richard's confinement, if we believe the literary history of the times, but even the circumstance of his captivity, was carefully concealed by his vindictive enemies: and both might have remained unknown, but for the grateful attachment of a Provençal bard, or minstrel, named Blondel, who had shared that prince's friendship, and tasted his bounty. Having travelled over all the European continent to learn the destiny of his beloved patron, who was a poet, it appears, as well as a hero, Blondel accidentally got intelligence of a certain castle in Germany, where a prisoner of distinction was confined, and guarded with great vigilance. Persuaded by a secret impulse, that this prisoner was the king of England, the minstrel repaired to the place. But the gates of the castle were shut against him, and he could obtain no information relative to the name or quality of the unhappy person it secured. In this extremity, he bethought himself of an expedient for making the desired discovery. He chanted, with a loud voice, some verses of a song, which had been composed partly by himself, partly by Richard; and to his unspeakable joy, on making a pause, he heard it re-echoed and continued by the royal captive. (*Hist. Troubadours.*) To this discovery the English monarch is said to have owed eventually his release.

PART I. A. D. 1193. Denmark, desiring that the ancient Danish claim to the crown of England might be transferred to him: he concluded a treaty with prince John, the king's brother, who is said to have done homage to him for the English crown; and he invaded Normandy, while the traitor John attempted to make himself master of England [12].

In the mean time Richard being produced before a diet of the empire, made such an impression on the German princes by his eloquence and spirit, that they exclaimed loudly against the conduct of the emperor. The pope also threatened him with excommunication; and although Henry had listened to the proposals of the king of France and prince John, he found it would be impracticable for him to execute his and their base purposes, or to detain any longer the king of England in captivity. He therefore concluded a treaty with Richard for his ransom, and agreed to restore him to his freedom for one hundred and fifty thousand marks of pure silver, about three hundred thousand pounds of our present money [13]; an enormous sum in those days.

A.D. 1194. As soon as Philip heard of Richard's release, he wrote to his confederate John, in these emphatical words: "Take care of yourself! the devil is broke "loose." How different on this occasion were the sentiments of the English nation!—Their joy was extreme on the appearance of their king, who had acquired so much glory, and spread the reputation of their name to the farthest East. After renewing the ceremony of his coronation, amid the acclamations of all ranks of people, and reducing the fortresses

12. M. Paris W. Hemming. R. Hoveden.
13. Rymer, vol. i.

which

which ſtill remained in the hands of his brother's adherents, Richard paſſed over with an army into Normandy; impatient to make war upon Philip, and to revenge himſelf for the many injuries he had ſuſtained from that monarch [14]. LETTER XXX. A.D. 1194.

WHEN we conſider two ſuch powerful and warlike monarchs, inflamed with perſonal animoſity againſt each other; enraged by mutual injuries; excited by rivalſhip; impelled by oppoſite intereſts, and inſtigated by the pride and violence of their own temper, our curioſity is naturally raiſed, and we expect an obſtinate and furious war, diſtinguiſhed by the greateſt events, and concluded by ſome remarkable cataſtrophe. We find ourſelves, however, entirely diſappointed. The taking of a caſtle, the ſurprize of a ſtraggling party, a rencounter of horſe, which reſembles more a route than a battle, comprehend the whole of the exploits on both ſides: a certain proof, as a great hiſtorian obſerves, of the weakneſs of princes in that age, and of the little authority which they poſſeſſed over their refractory vaſſals [15].

DURING this war, which continued, with ſhort intervals, till Richard's death, prince John deſerted Philip; threw himſelf at his brother's feet, craved pardon for his offences, and was received into favour, at the interceſſion of his mother queen Eleanor. "I "forgive him with all my heart," ſaid the king; "and hope I ſhall as eaſily forget his offences, as he "will my pardon [16]."

PEACE was juſt ready to be concluded between England and France, when Richard was unfortunate-

14. R. Hoveden.
15. Hume, *Hiſt. England*, vol. ii.
16. M. Paris.

PART I. A.D. 1199.

ly ſlain by an arrow, before an inconſiderable caſtle which he beſieged, in hopes of taking from one of his vaſſals a great maſs of gold which had been found hid in the earth. The ſtory is thus related:

VIDOMAR, viſcount of Limoges, had found a treaſure, of which he ſent part to the king, as a preſent. But Richard, as ſuperior lord, claimed the whole; and, at the head of ſome Brabançons, beſieged the count in the caſtle of Chalus, in order to make him comply with his demand. The garriſon offered to ſurrender; but the king replied, ſince he had taken the trouble to come thither and beſiege the place in perſon, he would take it by force, and hang every one of them. The ſame day Richard, accompanied by Marcadee, leader of his Brabançons, went to ſurvey the caſtle; when one Bertrand de Gourdon, an archer, took aim at him, and pierced his ſhoulder with an arrow. The king, however, gave orders for the aſſault; took the place, and hanged all the garriſon, except Gourdon, whom he reſerved for a more cruel execution [17].

RICHARD's wound was not in itſelf dangerous, but the unſkilfulneſs of the ſurgeon made it mortal; and when the king found his end approaching, he ſent for Gourdon, and demanded the reaſon why he ſought his life. "My father, and my two brothers," replied the undaunted ſoldier, "fell by your ſword, and you "intended to have executed me. I am now in your "power, and you may do your worſt; but I ſhall "endure the moſt ſevere torments with pleaſure, pro-"vided I can think that Heaven has afforded me ſuch "great revenge, as, with my own hand, to be the

17. R. Hoveden. J. Brompton.

"cauſe

" cauſe of your death." Struck with the boldneſs of this reply, and humbled by his approaching diſſolution, Richard ordered the priſoner to be ſet at liberty, and a ſum of money to be given him. But the bloodthirsty Brabançon, Marcadee, a ſtranger to ſuch generoſity, ſeized the unhappy man, flayed him alive, and then hanged him [18].

LETTER XXX.

A.D. 1199.

THE moſt ſhining part of the character of Richard I. was his military talents. No man, even in that romantic age, carried perſonal courage or intrepidity to a greater height; and this quality obtained him the appellation of *Cœur de Lion*, or the *Lion-hearted Hero*. As he left no iſſue behind him, he was ſucceeded by his brother John.

THE ſucceſſion was diſputed by Arthur, duke of Britanny, ſon of Geoffrey, the elder brother of John; and the barons of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, declared in favour of this young prince's title. The king of France, whoſe daughter he eſpouſed, alſo aſſiſted him; and every thing promiſed ſucceſs, when Arthur was unfortunately taken priſoner by his uncle John, and inhumanly murdered. A.D. 1203.

THE fate of this unhappy prince is differently related, but the following account ſeems the moſt probable. After having employed unſucceſsfully different aſſaſſins, John went himſelf in a boat, by night, to the caſtle of Rouen, where Arthur was confined,

18. Hoveden. The Brabançons were ruffian mercenaries, formed out of the numerous bands of robbers, who during the middle ages infeſted every country of Europe, and ſet the civil magiſtrate at defiance. Excluded the protection of general ſociety, theſe banditii formed a kind of government among themſelves. Troops of them were ſometimes enliſted in the ſervice of one prince or baron, ſometimes in that of another; and they often acted in an independent manner, under leaders of their own. W. Neubrig. *Chron. Gerv.*

PART I. A.D. 1203.

and ordered him to be brought forth. Aware of his danger, and ſubdued by the continuance of his misfortunes, and by the approach of death, the brave youth, who had before gallantly maintained the juſtice of his cauſe, threw himſelf on his knees before his uncle, and begged for mercy. But the barbarous tyrant, making no reply, ſtabbed his nephew to the heart; and faſtening a ſtone to the dead body, threw it into the Seine[19].

JOHN'S misfortunes commenced with his crime. The whole world was ſtruck with horror at his barbarity; and he was from that moment deteſted by his ſubjects, both in England and on the continent. The Bretons, diſappointed in their fondeſt hopes, waged implacable war againſt him, in order to revenge the murder of their duke: and they carried their complaints before the French monarch, as ſuperior lord, demanding juſtice for the inhuman violence committed by John on the perſon of Arthur. Philip II. received their application with pleaſure: he ſummoned John to ſtand trial before him and his peers: and, on his non-appearance, he was declared guilty of felony and parricide, and all his foreign dominions were adjudged forfeited to the crown of France[20].

NOTHING now remained but the execution of this ſentence, in order to complete the glory of Philip, whoſe active and ambitious ſpirit had long with impatience borne the neighbourhood of ſo powerful a vaſſal as the king of England. He therefore greedily embraced the preſent favourable opportunity of annexing to the French crown the Engliſh dominions on the continent; a project which the ſound policy of

19. T. Wykes. W. Heming. M. Paris. H. Knighton.
20. *Annal. Margan.* M. Weſt.

Henry

Henry II. and the military genius of Richard I. had rendered impracticable to the most vigorous efforts, and most dangerous intrigues, of this able and artful prince. But the general defection of John's vassals rendered every enterprize easy against him; and Philip not only re-united Normandy to the crown of France, but successively reduced Anjou, Maine, Touraine, and part of Poitou, under his dominion [21]. Thus by the baseness of one prince, and the intrepidity of another, the French monarchy received, in a few years, such an accession of power and grandeur as, in the ordinary course of things, it would have required several ages to attain.

LETTER XXX.

A. D. 1204.

A. D. 1205.

JOHN's arrival in England completed his disgrace. He saw himself universally despised by the barons, on account of his pusillanimity and baseness; and a quarrel with the clergy drew upon him the contempt of that order, and the indignation of Rome. The papal chair was then filled by Innocent III. who having been exalted to it at a more early period of life than usual, and being endowed with a lofty and enterprising genius, gave full scope to his ambition; and attempted, perhaps more openly than any of his predecessors, to convert that ghostly superiority, which was yielded him by all the European princes, into a real dominion over them; strongly inculcating that extravagant maxim, "That neither princes nor bishops, "civil governors nor ecclesiastical rulers, have any "lawful power, in church or state, but what they "derive from the pope." To this pontiff an appeal was made relative to the election of an archbishop of Canterbury. Two primates had been elected; one by the monks or canons of Christ-church, Canterbury, and one by the suffragan bishops, who had the king's

A. D. 1206.

21. *Chron. Trevit.* Ypod. Neust.

PART I. A.D. 1206. approbation. The pope declared both elections void; and commanded the monks, under penalty of excommunication, to chuse for their primate cardinal Langton, an Englishman by birth, but educated in France, and connected by his interests and attachments with A.D. 1207. the see of Rome. The monks complied; and John, inflamed with rage at such an usurpation of his prerogative, expelled them the convent; swearing by God's teeth, his usual oath, that, if the pope gave him any farther disturbance, he would banish all the bishops and clergy of England [22]. Innocent however knew his weakness, and laid the kingdom under an interdict; at that time the grand instrument of vengeance and policy employed against sovereigns by the court of Rome.

THE execution of this sentence was artfully calculated to strike the senses in the highest degree, and to operate with irresistible force on the superstitious minds of the people. The nation was suddenly deprived of all exterior exercise of its religion; the altars were despoiled of their ornaments; the crosses, the reliques, the images, the statues of the saints were laid on the ground; and, as if the air itself had been profaned, and might pollute them by its contact, the priests carefully covered them up, even from their own approach and veneration. The use of bells entirely ceased in all the churches; the bells themselves were removed from the steeples, and laid on the ground with the other sacred utensils. Mass was celebrated with shut doors, and none but the priests were admitted to that holy institution. The laity partook of no religious rite, except baptism of new-born infants, and the communion to the dying. The dead were not interred in consecrated ground: they were thrown

22. M. Paris.

into

LETTER XXX.

into ditches, or buried in the common fields; and their obsequies were not attended with prayers, or any hallowed ceremony. The people were prohibited the use of meat, as in Lent, and debarred from all pleasures and amusements. Every thing wore the appearance of the deepest distress, and of the most immediate apprehensions of divine vengeance and indignation [23]. A.D. 1207.

While England groaned under this dreadful sentence, a new and very extraordinary scene disclosed itself on the continent. Pope Innocent III. published a crusade against the Albigenses, a species of sectaries in the South of France, whom he denominated heretics; because, like all sectaries, they neglected the rites of the church, and opposed the power and influence of the clergy. Moved by that mad superstition, which had hurried such armies into Asia, in order to combat the infidels, and the reigning passion for wars and adventures, people flocked from all parts of Europe to the standard of Simon de Montfort, the general of this crusade. The count of Tholouse, who protected the Albigenses, was stript of his dominions; and these unhappy people themselves, though the most inoffensive of mankind, were exterminated with all the circumstances of the most unfeeling barbarity [24]. A.D. 1209.

Innocent having thus made trial of his power, carried still farther his ecclesiastical vengeance against

23. John, besides banishing the bishops, and confiscating the estates of all the ecclesiastics who obeyed the interdict, took a very singular and severe revenge upon the clergy. In order to distress them in the tenderest point, and at the same time expose them to reproach and ridicule, he threw into prison all their concubines. (M. Paris. *Ann. Waverl.*) These concubines were a sort of inferior wives, politically indulged to the clergy by the civil magistrate, after the members of that sacred body were enjoined celibacy by the canons of the church. Padre Paolo, *Hist. Conc. Trid.* lib. i.

24. *Hist. Albig.*

PART I. A.D. 1209. the king of England, who was now both despised and hated by his subjects of all ranks and conditions. He gave the bishops of London, Ely, and Worcester, authority to denounce against John the sentence of excommunication. His subjects were absolved from

A.D. 1213. their oath of allegiance, and a sentence of deposition soon followed. But as this last sentence required an armed force to execute it, the pontiff pitched on Philip II. king of France, as the person into whose hand he could most properly entrust so terrible a weapon: and he proffered that monarch, besides the remission of all his sins, and endless spiritual benefits, the kingdom of England as the reward of his labour [25].

SEDUCED by the prospect of present interest, Philip accepted the pope's liberal offer; although he thereby ratified an authority which might one day tumble him from his throne, and which it was the common concern of all princes to oppose. He levied a great army; summoned all the vassals of his crown to attend him at Rouen; collected a fleet of seventeen hundred vessels, great and small, in the sea-ports of Normandy and Picardy; and partly by the zeal of the age, partly by the personal regard universally paid him, prepared a force, which seemed equal to the greatness of his enterprize. John, on the other hand, issued out writs, requiring the attendance of all his military vassals at Dover, and even of all able-bodied men, to defend the kingdom in this dangerous extremity. An infinite number appeared, out of which he selected an army of sixty thousand men [26]. He had also a formidable fleet at Portsmouth, and he might have relied on the fidelity of both; not indeed from their attachment to him, but from that spirit of emulation

25. M. Paris. M. Westminst. 26. Ibid.

nation which has fo long fubfifted between the natives of England and France.

A.D. 1213.

All Europe was held in expectation of a decifive action between the two kings, when the pope artfully tricked them both, and took to himfelf that tempting prize, which he had pretended to hold out to Philip. This extraordinary tranfaction was negociated by Pandolfo, the pope's legate to France and England. In his way through France, he obferved Philip's great armament, and highly commended his zeal and diligence. He thence paffed to Dover, under pretence of negociating with the barons in favour of the French king, and had a conference with John on his arrival. He magnified to that prince the number of the enemy, and the difaffection of his own fubjects; intimating, that there was yet one way, and but one, to fecure himfelf from the impending danger; namely, to put himfelf under the protection of the pope, who, like a kind and merciful father, was ftill willing to receive him into his bofom.

John, labouring under the apprehenfions of prefent terror, liftened to the infidious propofal, and abjectly agreed to hold his dominions as a feudatory of the church of Rome. In confequence of this agreement, he did homage to the pope in the perfon of his legate, Pandolfo, with all the humiliating rites which the feudal law required of vaffals before their liege-lord and fuperior. He came difarmed into the prefence of the legate, who was feated on a throne: he threw himfelf on his knees before it; he lifted up his joined hands, and put them between thofe of Pandolfo, and fwore fealty to the pope in the following words. "I "John, by the grace of God, king of England and "lord of Ireland, for the expiation of my fins, and "out of my own free will, with the advice and con-

"fent

PART I. A.D. 1213.

"ſent of my barons, do give unto the church of "Rome, and to pope Innocent III. and his ſucceſ-"ſors, the kingdoms of England and Ireland, toge-"ther with all the rights belonging to them; and "will hold them of the pope, as his vaſſal. I will "be faithful to God, to the church of Rome, to the "pope my lord, and to his ſucceſſors lawfully elect-"ed: and I bind myſelf to pay him a tribute of one "thouſand marks of ſilver yearly; to wit, ſeven hun-"dred for the kingdom of England, and three hun-"dred for Ireland [27]."

PART of the money was immediately paid to the legate, as an earneſt of the ſubjection of the kingdom; after which the crown and ſceptre were alſo delivered to him. The inſolent Italian trampled the money under his feet, indicating thereby the pope's ſuperiority and the king's dependent ſtate, and kept the regalia five days; then returned them to John, as a favour from the pope, their common maſter.

DURING this ſhameful negociation, the French monarch waited impatiently at Boulogne for the legate's return, in order to put to ſea. The legate at length returned; and the king, to his utter aſtoniſhment, was given to underſtand, that he was no longer permitted to attack England, which was become a fief of the church of Rome, and its king a vaſſal of the Holy See. Philip was enraged at this intelligence: he ſwore he would no longer be the dupe of ſuch hypocritical pretences; nor would he have deſiſted from his enterprize but for weightier reaſons. His fleet was utterly deſtroyed by that of England; and the emperor Otho IV. who at once diſputed the empire with Frederic II. ſon to Henry VI. and Italy with

27. Rymer, vol. i. M. Paris, *Hiſt. Major.*

the

LETTER XXX.

A.D. 1214.

the pope, as we ſhall afterwards have occaſion to ſee, had entered into an alliance with his uncle, the king of England, in order to oppoſe the deſigns of France, now become formidable to the reſt of Europe. With this view he put himſelf at the head of a prodigious force; and the French monarch ſeemed in danger of being cruſhed for having graſped at a preſent proffered him by the pope.

Philip, however, advanced undiſmayed to meet his enemies, with an army of fifty thouſand choſen men, commanded by the chief nobility of France, and including twelve hundred knights, and between ſix and ſeven thouſand *gens-d'armes*. The emperor Otho, on the other ſide, had with him the earl of Saliſbury, baſtard brother to king John, the count of Flanders, the duke of Brabant, ſeven or eight German princes, and a force ſuperior to that of Philip. The two armies met near the village of Bouvines, between Liſle and Tournay, where the allies were totally routed, and thirty thouſand Germans are ſaid to have been ſlain[28].

This victory eſtabliſhed for ever the glory of Philip, and gave full ſecurity to all his dominions. John could therefore hope for nothing farther, than henceforth to rule his own kingdom in peace; and his cloſe alliance with the pope, which he was determined at any price to maintain, enſured him, as he imagined, the certain attainment of that felicity. How much was he deceived! A truce was indeed concluded with France, but the moſt grievous ſcene of this prince's misfortunes ſtill awaited him. He was doomed to humble himſelf before his own ſubjects, that the rights

28. Gul. Brit. *Vit. Phil. Auguſt.* Nag. *Chron.* P. Æmil.

of

PART I. A.D. 1214. of Englishmen might be restored, and the privileges of humanity secured and ascertained.

The conquest of England by William the Norman, and the introduction of the feudal government into the kingdom, had much infringed the liberties of the natives. The whole people were reduced to a state of vassalage under the king or barons, and even the greater part of them to a state of actual slavery. The necessity also of devolving great power into the hands of a prince, who was to maintain a military dominion over a vanquished nation, had induced the Norman barons to subject themselves to a more absolute authority, as I have already had occasion to observe, than men of their rank commonly submitted to in other feudal governments; so that England, during the course of an hundred and fifty years, had groaned under a tyranny unknown to all the kingdoms founded by the northern conquerors. Prerogatives once exalted are not easily reduced. Different concessions had been made by different princes, in order to serve their temporary purposes; but these were soon disregarded, and the same unlimited authority continued to be exercised both by them and their successors. The feeble reign of John, a prince equally odious and contemptible to the whole nation, seemed therefore to afford all ranks of men a happy opportunity of recovering their natural and constitutional rights;—and it was not neglected.

A.D. 1215. The barons entered into a confederacy, and formally demanded a restoration of their privileges; and, that their cause might wear the greater appearance of justice, they also included those of the clergy and the people. They took arms to enforce their request: they laid waste the royal domains: and John, after employing

A.D. 1215.

employing a variety of expedients, in order to divert the blow aimed at the prerogatives of his crown, was obliged to lower himſelf, and treat with his ſubjects.

A conference was held between the king and the barons at Runnemede, between Windſor and Staines; a ſpot ever ſince deſervedly celebrated, and even hallowed by every zealous lover of liberty. There John, after a debate of ſome days, ſigned and ſealed the famous *Magna Charta*, or GREAT CHARTER; which either granted or ſecured very important privileges to every order of men in the kingdom—to the barons, to the clergy, and to the people. June 19.

WHAT theſe privileges particularly were you will beſt learn, my dear Philip, from the charter itſelf, which deſerves your moſt early and continued attention, as it involves all the great out-lines of a legal government, and provides for the equal diſtribution of juſtice, and free enjoyment of property; the chief objects for which political ſociety was firſt founded by men, which the people have a perpetual and unalienable right to recall, and which no time, nor precedent, nor ſtatute, nor poſitive inſtitution, ought to deter them from keeping ever uppermoſt in their thoughts[29].

29. The moſt valuable ſtipulation in this charter, and the grand ſecurity of the lives, liberties, and properties of Engliſhmen, was the following conceſſion. "No freeman ſhall be apprehended or impriſoned, or diſſeiſed, or outlawed, or baniſhed, or any other way deſtroyed; nor will WE *go upon him*, nor will WE *ſend* upon him, except by the *legal judgment of his peers*, or by the *law of the land*." (*Mag. Chart.* Art. xxxii.) The ſtipulation next in importance ſeems to be the ſingular conceſſion, That "to no man will we *ſell*, to no man will we *delay right*, and *juſtice*." (Ibid. Art. xxxiii.) Theſe conceſſions ſhew, in a very ſtrong light, the violences and iniquitous practices of the Anglo-Norman princes.

PART I.
A.D. 1215.

The better to secure the execution of this charter, the barons stipulated with the king for the privilege of choosing twenty-five members of their own order, as conservators of the public liberties: and no bouuds were set to the authority of these noblemen, either in extent or duration. If complaint was made of a violation of the charter, any four of the conservators might admonish the king to redress the grievance; and if satisfaction was not obtained, they could assemble the whole council of twenty-five. This august body, in conjunction with the great council of the nation, was impowered to compel him to observe the charter; and in case of resistance, might levy war against him. All men throughout the kingdom were bound, under penalty of confiscation, to swear obedience to the five and twenty barons; and the freeholders of each county were to chuse twelve knights, who should make report of such evil customs as required redress, conformable to the tenor of the Great Charter[30].

In what manner John acted after granting the charter, and under these regulations, to which he seemed passively to submit, together with their influence on the English constitution, and on the affairs of France, we shall afterwards have occasion to see. At present we must cast our eyes on the other states of Europe.

30. M. Paris. Rymer, vol. i.

LETTER XXXI.

The GERMAN EMPIRE *and its Dependencies,* ROME *and the* ITALIAN STATES, *from the Acceſſion of* HENRY VI. *to the Election of* RODOLPH *of* HAPSBURG, *Founder of the Houſe of* AUSTRIA, *with a Continuation of the Hiſtory of the* CRUSADES.

IT is neceſſary, my dear Philip, that I ſhould here recapitulate a little; for there is no portion of Modern Hiſtory more perplexed, than that under review. LETTER XXXI.

THE emperor, Frederic Barbaroſſa, died, as you have ſeen, in his expedition to the Holy Land; and his ſon, Henry VI. received almoſt at the ſame time intelligence of the death of his father and his brother-in-law, William king of Naples and Sicily, to whoſe dominions he was heir in right of his wife. After ſettling the affairs of Germany, he levied an army, and marched into Italy, in order to be crowned by the pope, and go with the empreſs Conſtantia to recover the ſucceſſion of Sicily, which was uſurped by Tancred, her natural brother. With this view, he endeavoured to conciliate the affections of the Lombards, by enlarging the privileges of Genoa, Piſa, and other cities, in his way to Rome. There the ceremony of coronation was performed, the day after Eaſter, by Celeſtine III. accompanied with a very remarkable circumſtance. That pope, who was then in his eighty-ſixth year, had no ſooner placed the crown upon Henry's head, than he kicked it off again; as a teſtimony of the power reſiding in the ſovereign pontiff, to make and unmake emperors[1].

A.D. 1190.

A.D. 1191.

1. R. Hoveden. *Annal.* Heif. lib. ii.

HENRY

PART I. A.D. 1191. HENRY now prepared for the conquest of Naples and Sicily, in which he was opposed by the pope. For although Celestine considered Tancred as an usurper, and wanted to see him deprived of the crown of Sicily, which he claimed, in imitation of his predecessors, as a fief of the Holy See, he was still more averse against the emperor's possessing that kingdom; because such an accession of territory would have rendered him too powerful in Italy for the interests of the church. He dreaded so formidable a vassal. Henry, however, without paying any regard to the threats and remonstrances of his Holiness, took almost all the towns of Campania, Apulia, and Calabria; invested the city of Naples, and sent for the Genoese fleet, which he had engaged to come and form the blockade by sea. But, before its arrival, he was obliged to raise the siege, in consequence of a dreadful mortality among his troops, and all future attempts upon the kingdom of Naples and Sicily proved ineffectual during the life of Tancred [2].

A.D. 1192. THE emperor, after his return to Germany, incorporated the Teutonic knights into a regular order, religious and military, and built a house for them at Coblentz. These Teutonic knights, and also the Knights Templars, and Knights Hospitallers, were originally monks, who settled in Jerusalem, when it was first taken by the champions of the Cross. They were established into religious fraternities for the relief of distressed pilgrims, and for the care of the sick and wounded, without any hostile purpose. But the holy city being afterwards in danger, they took up arms, and made a vow to combat the Infidels, as they had formerly done to combat their own carnal inclinations. The enthusiastic zeal of the times increased their mem-

2. Sigon. *Reg. Ital.* lib. xv.

bers;

bers: they grew wealthy and honourable; were patronized in Europe by different princes, and became a militia of conquerors[3]. Their exploits I ſhall have occaſion to relate. A. D. 1192.

In what manner Richard I. king of England, was arreſted on his return from the Holy Land, by Leopold duke of Auſtria, and detained priſoner by the emperor, we have already ſeen. As ſoon as Henry had received the money for that prince's ranſom, he made new preparations for the conqueſt of Sicily; and Tancred dying about the ſame time, he effected his purpoſe by the aſſiſtance of the Genoeſe. The queen dowager ſurrendered Salerno, and her right to the crown, on condition that her ſon William ſhould poſſeſs the principality of Tarentum. But Henry, joining the moſt atrocious cruelty to the baſeſt perfidy, no ſooner found himſelf maſter of the place, than he ordered the infant king to be caſtrated; to have his eyes put out, and be confined in a dungeon. The royal treaſure was tranſported to Germany, and the queen and her daughters were ſhut up in a convent[4]. A. D. 1194.

While theſe things were tranſacting in Sicily, the empreſs, though near the age of fifty, was delivered of a ſon named Frederic. And Henry, in the plenitude of his power, aſſembled ſoon after a diet of the German princes to whom he explained his intention of rendering the imperial crown hereditary, in order to prevent thoſe diſturbances which attended the election of emperors. A decree was paſſed for that purpoſe; and Frederic II. yet in his cradle, was declared king of the Romans[5]. A. D. 1196.

3. Helyot, *Hiſt. des Ordres.*

4. Sigon. *Reg. Ital.* Relius, *de Reg. Napol. et Sicil.*

5. Lunig. *Arch. Imp.* Heiſs, lib. ii.

PART I.
A.D. 1196.

In the mean time the emperor was ſolicited by the pope to engage in a new cruſade, for the relief of the Chriſtians in the Holy Land. Henry obeyed, but took care to turn it to his advantage. He convoked a general diet at Worms, where he ſolemnly declared his reſolution of employing his whole power, and even of hazarding his life for the accompliſhment of ſo holy an undertaking: and he expatiated on the ſubject with ſo much eloquence, that almoſt the whole aſſembly took the croſs. Nay ſuch multitudes, from all the provinces of the empire, enliſted themſelves, that Henry divided them into three large armies; one of which, under the command of the biſhop of Mentz, took the route of Hungary, where it was joined by Margaret queen of that country, who entered herſelf in this pious expedition, and actually ended her days in Paleſtine. The ſecond army was aſſembled in Lower Saxony, and embarked in a fleet furniſhed by the inhabitants of Lubec, Hamburg, Holſtein, and Frieſland; and the emperor in perſon conducted the third into Italy, in order to take vengeance upon the Normans of Naples and Sicily, who had riſen againſt his government[6].

The rebels were humbled, and their chiefs condemned to periſh by the moſt excruciating tortures. One Jornandi, of the houſe of the Norman princes, was tied naked on a chair of red-hot iron, and crowned with a circle of the ſame burning metal, which was nailed to his head. The empreſs, ſhocked at ſuch cruelty, renounced her faith to her huſband, and encouraged her countrymen to recover their liberties. Reſolution ſprung from deſpair. The inhabitants betook themſelves to arms, the empreſs Conſtantia headed them; and Henry having diſmiſſed his troops, no

6. Giannone, *Hiſt. di Napol.*

longer

longer thought neceſſary to his bloody purpoſes, and ſent them to purſue their expedition to the Holy Land, (bleſſed atonement for his crimes and theirs!) was obliged to ſubmit to his wife, and to the conditions which ſhe was pleaſed to impoſe on him in favour of the Sicilians. He died at Meſſina, ſoon after this treaty; and, as was ſuppoſed, of poiſon adminiſtered by the empreſs, who ſaw the ruin of her country hatching in his perfidious and vindictive heart[7].

LETTER XXXI.

A. D. 1196.

A. D. 1197.

But Henry, amid all his baſeneſs, poſſeſſed many great qualities. He was active, eloquent, brave; his adminiſtration was vigorous, and his policy deep. None of the ſucceſſors of Charlemagne were ever more feared and obeyed, either at home or abroad.

The emperor's ſon Frederic, having already been declared king of the Romans, became emperor on the death of his father. But as Frederic II. was yet a minor, the adminiſtration was committed to his uncle, Philip duke of Suabia, both by the will of Henry and by an aſſembly of the German princes. Other princes, however, incenſed to ſee an elective empire become hereditary, held a new diet at Cologne, and choſe Otho duke of Brunſwick, ſon of Henry the Lion. Frederic's title was confirmed in a third aſſembly, at Arnſburg; and his uncle Philip was elected king of the Romans, in order to give greater weight to his adminiſtration[8].

A. D. 1198.

These two elections divided the empire into two powerful factions, and involved all Germany in ruin and deſolation. Innocent III. who had ſucceeded Celeſtine in the papal chair, threw himſelf into the

7. Id. ibid. Relius, ubi ſup. 8. Krantz, lib. viii. Hieſs, lib. ii.

PART I. A.D. 1198.

ſcale of Otho, and excommunicated Philip and all his adherents. This able and ambitious pontiff (of whom I have already had occaſion to ſpeak) was a ſworn enemy to the houſe of Saubia; not from any perſonal animoſity, but out of a principle of policy. That houſe had long been terrible to the popes, by its continued poſſeſſion of the imperial crown: and the acceſſion of the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, made it ſtill more to be dreaded. Innocent, therefore, gladly ſeized the preſent favourable opportunity for diveſting the houſe of Suabia of the empire, by ſupporting the election of Otho, and ſowing diviſions among the Suabian party. Otho was alſo patroniſed by his uncle, the king of England; a circumſtance which naturally inclined the king of France to the ſide of his rival. Faction claſhed with faction; friendſhip with intereſt: caprice, ambition, or reſentment gave the ſway; and nothing was beheld on all hands, but the horrors and the miſeries of civil war[9].

MEANWHILE the empreſs Conſtantia remained in Sicily, where all was peace, as regent and guardian for her infant ſon, Frederic II. who had been crowned king of that iſland, with the conſent of pope Celeſtine III. But ſhe alſo had her troubles. A new inveſtiture from the Holy See being neceſſary, on the death of Celeſtine, Innocent III. his ſucceſſor, took advantage of the critical ſituation of affairs for aggrandizing the papacy at the expence of the kings of Sicily. They poſſeſſed, as we have ſeen, the privilege of filling up vacant benefices, and of judging all eccleſiaſtical cauſes in the laſt appeal: they were really popes in their own iſland, though vaſſals of his Holineſs. Innocent pretended that theſe powers

9. Id. ibid. *Annal de l'Emp.* tom. i.

had been surreptitiously obtained; and demanded, that Constantia should renounce them in the name of her son, and do liege, pure, and simple homage for Sicily. But before any thing was settled relative to this affair, the empress died, leaving the regency of the kingdom to the pope; so that he was enabled to prescribe what conditions he thought proper to young Frederic [10].

LETTER XXXI.

A.D. 1198.

A.D. 1200.

The troubles of Germany still continued; and the pope redoubled his efforts to detach the princes and prelates from the cause of Philip, king of the Romans, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the king of France. To these remonstrances he proudly replied "Either Philip must lose the empire, or I the papacy [11]."

But all these dissensions and troubles in Europe did not prevent the formation of another crusade, or expedition into Asia, for the recovery of the Holy Land. The adventurers who took the cross were chiefly French and Germans. Baldwin, count of Flanders, was their commander; and the Venetians, as greedy of wealth and power as the ancient Carthaginians, furnished them with ships, for which they took care to be amply paid, both in money and territory. The Christian city of Zara, in Dalmatia, had withdrawn itself from the government of the republic: the army of the Cross undertook to reduce it to obedience; and it was besieged and taken, notwithstanding the threats and excommunications of the pope [12]. Nothing can shew in a stronger light the reigning spirit of those pious adventurers.

A.D. 1203.

The storm next broke upon Constantinople. Isaac Angelus, the Greek emperor had been dethroned,

10. Murat. *Antiq. Ital.* tom. vi.

11. *Gest. Innocent. III.*

12. Maimbourg, *Hist. des Croisades.*

PART I. A.D. 1203. and deprived of his sight, in 1195, by his brother Alexis. Isaac's son, named also Alexis, who had made his escape into Germany, and was then in the army of the crusade, implored the assistance of its leaders against the usurper; engaging, in case of success, to furnish them with provisions, to pay them a large sum of money, and to submit himself to the jurisdiction of the pope. By their means the lawful prince was restored. He ratified the treaty made by his son, and died; when young Alexis, who was hated by the Greeks for having called in the Latins, became the victim of a new faction. One of his relations, surnamed Murtzufle, strangled him with his own hands, and usurped the imperial throne [13].

BALDWIN and his followers, who wanted only an apology for their intended violence, had now a good one; and under pretence of revenging the death of Alexis, made themselves masters of Constantinople.
A.D. 1204. They entered it with little or no resistance; put every one who opposed them to the sword, and gave themselves up to all the excesses of avarice and fury. The booty of the French lords alone was valued at four hundred thousand marks of silver: the very churches were pillaged! And what strongly marks the character of that giddy nation, which has been at all times nearly the same, we are told by Nicetas, that the French officers danced with the ladies in the sanctuary of the church of Sta. Sophia, after having robbed the altar, and drenched the city in blood [14].

THUS was Constantinople, the most flourishing Christian city in the world, taken for the first time, and sacked by Christians, who had vowed to fight on-

13. Nicetas, *Chron.* 14. Id. ibid.

ly

ly against Infidels!—Baldwin, count of Flanders, the most powerful of these ravagers, got himself elected emperor; and this new usurper condemned the other usurper, Murtzufle, to be thrown headlong from the top of a lofty column. The Venetians had for their share Peloponnesus, the island of Candia, and several cities on the coast of Phrygia, which had not yet submitted to the Turkish yoke. The Marquis de Monferrat seized Thessaly; so that Baldwin had little left except Thrace and Mesia. The pope gained, for a time, the whole eastern church; and, in a word, an acquisition was made of much greater consequence than Palestine. Of this indeed the conquerors seemed fully convinced; for, notwithstanding the vow they had taken, to go and succour Jerusalem, only a very inconsiderable number of the many knights, who had engaged in this pious enterprize, went into Syria, and those were such as could get no share in the spoils of the Greeks[15].

LETTER XXXI.

A. D. 1204.

INNOCENT III. speaking of this conquest, says, in one of his letters, "God, willing to console his "church by the re-union of the schismatics, has made "the empire pass from the proud, superstitious, dis-"obedient Greeks, to the humble, pious, catholic, "and submissive Latins." So easy is it by words, to give that complexion to persons and things, which most favours our interests and our prejudices!

I SHOULD now, my dear Philip, return to the affairs of Germany; but a few more particulars, consequent on the taking of Constantinople, require first to be noted, as they cannot afterwards be brought properly under review.

15. Nicetas. Cantacuzenus.

PART I.

A.D. 1204. THERE ſtill remained a number of princes of the imperial houſe of Comnenus, who did not loſe their courage with the deſtruction of their empire. One of thoſe, who bore among others the name of Alexis, took refuge on the coaſt of Colchis; and there, between the ſea and mount Caucaſus, erected a petty ſtate to which he gave the name of the Empire of Trebiſond; ſo much was the word empire abuſed!—Theodore Laſcarus retook Nice, and ſettled himſelf in Bythinia, by opportunely making uſe of the Arabs againſt the Turks. He alſo aſſumed the title of emperor, and cauſed a patriarch to be elected of his own communion. Other Greeks entered into an alliance with the Turks, and even called in their ancient enemies, the Bulgarians, to aſſiſt them againſt the emperor Baldwin; who being overcome by thoſe barbari-
A.D. 1206. ans near Adrianople had his legs and arms cut off, and was left a prey to wild beaſts[16]. Henry, his brother and ſucceſſor, was poiſoned in 1216; and within half a century, the imperial city, which had gone to ruin under the Latins, returned once more to the Greeks.

WHILE theſe things were tranſacting in the Eaſt, Philip and Otho were deſolating the Weſt. At length Philip prevailed; and Otho, obliged to abandon Germany, took refuge in England. Philip, elated with ſucceſs, got his election confirmed by a ſecond coronation, and propoſed an accommodation with the pope, as the means of finally eſtabliſhing his throne. But before that accommodation could be brought about, he fell a ſacrifice to private revenge; being aſ-
A.D. 1208. ſaſſinated by the count Palatine of Bavaria, in conſequence of a private diſpute.[17].

16. Ibid.

17. Heiſs, lib. ii. cap. xv.

OTHO

OTHO returned to Germany on the death of Philip, married that prince's daughter, and was crowned at Rome by Innocent III. after yielding to the Holy See the long diſputed inheritance of the counteſs Matilda, and confirming the rights and privileges of the Italian cities. A. D. 1209.

BUT theſe conceſſions, as far at leaſt as they regarded the pope, were only a ſacrifice to preſent policy. Otho therefore no ſooner found himſelf in a condition to act offenſively, than he reſumed his grant; and not only recovered the poſſeſſions of the empire, but made hoſtile incurſions into Apulia, ravaging the dominions of young Frederic, king of Naples and Sicily; who was under the protection of the Holy See. Hence we may date the ruin of Otho. Innocent excommunicated him: and Frederic, now fifteen years of age, was elected emperor, by a diet of the German princes [18]. A. D. 1210. A. D. 1211.

OTHO however, on his return to Germany, finding his party ſtill conſiderable, and not doubting but he ſhould be able to humble his rival, by means of his ſuperior force, entered into an alliance with his uncle, John king of England, againſt Philip Auguſtus king of France. The unfortunate battle of Bouvines, where the confederates were defeated, as we have ſeen, completed the fate of Otho. He attempted to retreat into Germany, but was prevented by young Frederic; who had marched into the empire at the head of a powerful army, and was every where received with open arms. A. D. 1213. A. D. 1214.

THUS abandoned by all the princes of Germany, and altogether without reſource, Otho retired to

18. Heiſs, lib. ii. cap. xvi.

Brunſwick,

PART I. A.D. 1214. Brunſwick, where he lived four years as a private man, dedicating his time to the duties of religion. He was not depoſed, but forgot; and if it is true that, in the exceſs of his humility, he ordered himſelf to be thrown down, and trod upon by his kitchen-boys, we may well ſay with Voltaire, that the kicks of a turn-ſpit can never expiate the faults of a prince [19].

A.D. 1215. FREDERIC II. being now univerſally acknowledged emperor, was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle with great magnificence: and, in order to preſerve the favour of the pope, he added to the other ſolemnities of his coronation, a vow to go in perſon to the Holy Land [20].

A.D. 1216. ABOUT this time pope Innocent died, and was ſucceed by Honorious III. who expreſſed great eagerneſs in forwarding the cruſade, which he ordered to be preached up through all the provinces of Germany, Sweden, Denmark, Bohemia, and Hungary: and his endeavours were crowned with extraordinary ſucceſs. The emperor indeed excuſed himſelf from the performance of his vow, until he ſhould have regulated the affairs of Italy; and almoſt all the other European monarchs were detained at home by domeſtic diſturbances. But an infinite number of private noblemen and their vaſſals took the croſs, under the dukes of Auſtria and Bavaria, the archbiſhop of Mentz, and the biſhops of Munſter and Utrecht; and Andrew, king of Hungary, who brought with him a body of fine troops, was declared generaliſſimo of the cruſade [21].

19. *Anal. de l'Emp.* tom. ii. 20. Heiſs, lib. ii. cap. xvii.
21. *Annal Paderborn.*

WHILE

WHILE these adventurers of Upper Germany marched towards Italy, in order to embark at Venice, Genoa, and Messina, a fleet of three hundred sail was equipped in the ports of Lower Saxony, to transport the troops of Westphalia, Saxony, and the territory of Cologne. And those joining the squadron of the Frieslanders, Flemings, and subjects of Brabant, commanded by William count of Holland, George count of Weerden, and Adolphus count of Berg, set sail for the Straits of Gibraltar, on their voyage to Ptolemais. But being driven by a tempest into the road of Lisbon, they were prevailed upon to assist Alphonso king of Portugal against the Moors. They defeated these Infidels, and afterwards took from them the city of Alcazar [22].

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A. D. 1217.

MEANWHILE the king of Hungary and his army, having joined the king of Cyprus, landed at Ptolemais; where he was joyfully received by John de Brienne, a younger brother of the family of that name in Champagne, who had been nominated king of Jerusalem. After refreshing and reviewing their forces, the two kings marched into the great valley of Jesrael, against the Saracens, with the wood of the true cross carried before them. But Coradin, son of Saphadin, soldan of Egypt and Babylon, and nephew to the famous Saladin, finding himself greatly outnumbered by the Christians, retired without giving battle; and the champions of the Cross undertook the siege of Thabor, in which they miscarried. They now separated themselves into four bodies, for the conveniency of subsisting. The king of Cyprus died, and the king of Hungary returned to his own dominions, in order to quiet some disturbances which had arisen during his absence [23].

A. D. 1218.

22. Ibid. 23. Jac. de Vitri. Maimbourg, ubi sup.

THE

PART I.

A. D. 1218. THE fleet from the coaſt of Spain arrived at Ptolemais, ſoon after the departure of the king of Hungary; and it was reſolved in a council of war to beſiege Damietta in Egypt, which was accordingly inveſted by ſea and land, and taken after a ſiege of

A. D. 1219. eighteen months. During the ſiege Saphadin died; and his eldeſt ſon Meledin, his ſucceſſor in the kingdom of Egypt, who came to the relief of the beſieged, was defeated. The duke of Auſtria, with a large body of troops, returned ſoon after to Germany; and a reinforcement arrived from the emperor, under the conduct of cardinal Albano, legate of the Holy See [24].

THIS cardinal, who was a Spaniſh Benedictine, pretended that he, as repreſentative of the pope, the natural head of the cruſade, had an inconteſtable right to be general; and that, as the king of Jeruſalem held his crown only by virtue of the pope's licence, he ought in all things to pay obedience to the legate of his Holineſs. Much time was ſpent in that diſpute, and in writing to Rome for advice. At length the pope's anſwer came, by which he ordered the king of Jeruſalem to ſerve under the Benedictine; and his orders were punctually obeyed. John de Brienne reſigned the command, and this monkiſh general brought the army of the Croſs between two branches of the Nile, juſt at the time that river, which fertilizes and defends Egypt, began to overflow its banks. The ſoldan, informed of the ſituation of his enemies, flooded the Chriſtian camp, by opening the ſluices; and while he burnt their ſhips on one ſide, the Nile increaſing on the other, threatened every hour to ſwallow up their whole army. The legate therefore now ſaw himſelf and his troops in a ſimilar extremity to

24. Vertot, *Hiſt. des Chev. de Malth.* tom. i. Maimbourg, *Hiſt. des Croiſades*, tom. ii.

that

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that in which the Egyptians under Pharaoh are deſcribed, when they beheld the ſea ready to ruſh in upon them. In conſequence of this preſſing danger, Damietta was reſtored; and the leaders of the cruſade were obliged to conclude a diſhonourable treaty, by which they bound themſelves not to ſerve againſt Meledin ſoldan of Egypt for eight years [25]. A.D. 1221.

The Chriſtians of the Eaſt had now no hopes left but in the emperor Frederick II. who was about this time crowned at Rome by pope Honorius III. whoſe friendſhip he had purchaſed, by promiſing to detach Naples and Sicily from the empire, and beſtow it on his ſon Henry, to be held as a fief of the Holy See. He alſo promiſed to paſs into Aſia with an army, at any time the pope ſhould appoint. But this promiſe Frederick was very little inclined to perform, and therefore found a thouſand pretences for delaying his journey. He was indeed more worthily employed; embelliſhing and aggrandizing Naples; in eſtabliſhing an univerſity in that city, where the Roman law was taught; and in expelling the vagrant Saracens, who ſtill infeſted Sicily [26].

In the mean time the unfortunate leaders of the cruſade arrived in Europe; and the pope, incenſed at the loſs of Damietta, wrote a ſevere letter to the emperor, taxing him with having ſacrificed the intereſts of Chriſtianity, by delaying ſo long the performance of his vow, and threatening him with immediate excommunication, if he did not inſtantly depart with an army into Aſia. Frederick, exaſperated at theſe reproaches, renounced all correſpondence with the court of Rome; renewed his eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction in A.D. 1225.

25. Id. ibid.

26. Sigon. *Reg. Ital.* Giannone, *Hiſt. di Napol.*

Sicily;

PART I. A.D. 1226.

Sicily; filled up vacant sees and benefices, and expelled some bishops, who were creatures of the pope, on pretence of their being concerned in practices against the state[27].

HONORIUS at first attempted to combat rigour with rigour, threatening the emperor with the thunder of the church, for presuming to lift up his hand against the sanctuary; but finding Frederick not to be intimidated, his Holiness became sensible of his own imprudence, in wantonly incurring the resentment of so powerful a prince, and thought proper to soothe his temper by submissive apologies and gentle exhortations. The emperor and the pope were accordingly reconciled, and conferred together at Veroli; where the emperor, as a proof of his sincere attachment to the church, published some very severe edicts against heresy, which seem to have authorised the tribunal of the Inquisition[28].

A SOLEMN assembly was afterwards held at Ferentino, where both the pope and the emperor were present, together with John de Brienne, titular king of Jerusalem, who was come into Europe to demand succours against the soldan of Egypt. John had an only daughter named Yolanda, whom he proposed as a wife to the emperor, with the kingdom of Jerusalem as her dower, on condition that Frederick should, within two years, perform the vow he had made to lead an army into the Holy Land. Frederick married her on these terms, because he chose to please the pope: and since that time the kings of Sicily have taken the title of king of Jerusalem.

BUT the emperor was in no hurry to go and conquer his wife's portion, having business of more im-

27. Id ibid.

28. Petr. de Vignes, lib. i.

portance

A.D. 1227.

portance on his hands at home. The chief cities of Lombardy had entered into a ſecret league, with a view to throw off his authority. He convoked a diet at Cremona, where all the German and Italian noblemen were ſummoned to attend. A variety of ſubjects were there diſcuſſed, but nothing of conſequence was ſettled. An accommodation, however, was ſoon after brought about, by the mediation of the pope; who, as umpire of the diſpute, decreed, That the emperor ſhould lay aſide his reſentment againſt the confederate towns, and that the towns ſhould furniſh and maintain four hundred knights for the relief of the Holy Land [29].

Peace being thus concluded, Honorius reminded the emperor of his vow: Frederick promiſed compliance; but his Holineſs died before he could ſee the execution of a project which he ſeemed to have ſo much at heart. He was ſucceded in the papal chair by Gregory IX. brother of Innocent III. who purſuing the ſame line of policy, urged the departure of Frederick for the Holy Land; and finding the emperor ſtill backward, declared him incapable of holding the imperial dignity, as having incurred the ſentence of excommunication. Frederick, incenſed at ſuch inſolence, ravaged the patrimony of St. Peter, and was actually excommunicated. The animoſity between the Guelphs and Ghibellines revived; the pope was obliged to quit Rome, and Italy became a ſcene of war and deſolation: or rather of an hundred civil wars, which by inflaming the minds, and exciting the reſentment of the Italian princes, accuſtomed them but too much to the horrid practices of poiſoning and aſſaſſination. A.D. 1228.

29. Richard. *Chron.* ap. Murat.

DURING

PART I.

A.D. 1228. DURING these tranſactions, Frederick II. in order to remove the cauſe of ſo many troubles, and to gratify the prejudices of a ſuperſtitious age, reſolved to perform his vow. He accordingly embarked for the Holy Land, leaving the affairs of Italy to the management of Renaldo, duke of Spoleto. The pope prohibited his departure, before he was abſolved from the cenſures of the church. But Frederick went in contempt of the church, and ſucceeded better than any commander who had gone before him. He did not indeed deſolate Aſia, and gratify the barbarous zeal of the times, by ſpilling the blood of Infidels; but he concluded a treaty with Meledin, ſoldan of Egypt, and maſter of Syria, by which the end of his
A. D. 1229. expedition ſeemed fully anſwered. The ſoldan ceded to him Jeruſalem, and its territory, as far as Joppa; Bethlem, Nazareth, and all the country between Jeruſalem and Ptolemais; Tyre, Sidon, and the neighbouring territories. In return for theſe conceſſions, the emperor granted the Saracens a truce of ten years,
A.D. 1230. and prudently returned to Italy, where his preſence was much wanted [30].

FREDERICK's reign, after his return from the Eaſt, was one continued quarrel with the popes. The cities of Lombardy had revolted during his abſence, at the inſtigation of Gregory IX. and before they could be reduced, the ſame pontiff excited the emperor's ſon
A. D. 1235. Henry, who had been elected king of the Romans, to rebel againſt his father. The rebellion was ſuppreſſed, the prince was confined, and the emperor obtained a complete victory over the aſſociated towns; but his
A.D. 1237. troubles were not yet ended. The pope excommunicated him anew; and ſent a bull into Germany, in

30. *Annal Boior.* lib. vii. Heiſs, *Hiſt. de l' Emp.* lib. ii. cap. xvii. Maimbourg, ubi ſup.

order

order to ſow diviſion between Frederick and the princes of the empire, in which are the following remarkable words. "A beaſt of blaſphemy, replete with names, "is riſen from the ſea, with the feet of a bear, the "face of a lion, and members of other different ani- "mals; which, like the proud, hath opened its mouth "in blaſphemy againſt the holy name; not even fear- "ing to throw the arrows of calumny againſt the ta- "bernacle of God, and the ſaints that dwell in hea- "ven. This beaſt, deſirous of breaking every thing "in pieces by his iron teeth and nails, and of tram- "pling all things under his feet, hath already pre- "pared private battering rams againſt the wall of the "catholic faith; and now raiſes open machines, in "erecting ſoul-deſtroying ſchools of Iſhmaelites; riſ- "ing, according to report, in oppoſition to Chriſt the "Redeemer of mankind, the table of whoſe covenant "he attempts to aboliſh with the pen of wicked here- "ſy. Be not therefore ſurpriſed at the malice of "this blaſphemous beaſt; if we, who are the ſervant "of the Almighty, ſhould be expoſed to the arrows "of his deſtruction—This king of plagues was even "heard to ſay, that the whole world has been deceived "by three impoſtors; namely Moſes, Jeſus Chriſt, "and Mahomet. But he makes Jeſus Chriſt far in- "ferior to the other two: 'They, ſays he, ſupported "their glory to the laſt, whereas Chriſt was igno- "miniouſly crucified' He alſo maintains," conti- nues Gregory, "that it is folly to believe the ONE "only God, Creator of the Univerſe, could be born "of a *woman*, and more eſpecially of a *virgin*[31]."

FREDERIC, on the other hand, in his apology to the princes of Germany, calls Gregory the *Great Dragon*, the *Antichriſt*, of whom it is written, "and an-

31. Gob. Perſ. *Coſmod.* cap. lxiv.

PART I. A.D. 1237. "other Red Horse arose from the sea, and He that sat "upon him took Peace from the Earth [32]."

THE emperor's apology was sustained in Germany; and finding he had nothing to fear from that quarter, he resolved to take ample vengeance of the pope and his associates. With that view he marched to Rome,
A. D. 1239. where he thought his party was strong enough to procure him admission. But this favourite scheme was defeated by the activity of Gregory, who ordered a crusade to be preached against the emperor, as an enemy of the Christian faith; a step which incensed Frederic so much, that he ordered all his prisoners, who wore the cross, to be exposed to the most cruel tortures [33].

THE two factions of the Guelphs and Ghibellines continued to rage with greater violence than ever; involving cities, districts, and even private families, in troubles, divisions, and civil butchery, no quarter being given on either side. Meanwhile Gregory IX. died, and was succeeded in the see of Rome by Ce-
A. D. 1243. lestine IV. and afterwards by Innocent IV. formerly cardinal Fiesque, and who had always expressed the greatest regard for the emperor and his interest. Frederic was accordingly congratulated upon this occasion; but having more penetration than those about him, he sagely replied, "I see little reason to "rejoice. The cardinal was my friend, but the pope "will be my enemy [34]."

INNOCENT soon proved the justice of this conjecture. He ambitiously attempted to negociate a peace for Italy. But not being able to obtain from Frede-

32. Id. ibid. 33. Krantz. lib. viii. Murat. *Annal. Ital.* tom. vii. 34. Id. ibid.

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tic his exorbitant demands, and in fear for the ſafety of his own perſon, he fled into France; aſſembled a general council at Lyons, and depoſed the emperor. A.D. 1245. "I declare," ſaid he, "Frederic II. attainted and "convicted of ſacrilege and hereſy, excommunicat-"ed and dethroned; and I order the electors to chuſe "another emperor, reſerving to myſelf the diſpoſal "of the kingdom of Sicily[35]."

Frederic was at Turin when he received the news of his depoſition, and behaved in a manner that ſeemed to border upon weakneſs. He called for the caſket in which the imperial ornaments were kept; and opening it, and taking the crown in his hand, "Innocent," cried he, "has not yet deprived me of "thee: thou art ſtill mine! and before I part with "thee, much blood ſhall be ſpilt[36]."

Conrad, the emperor's ſecond ſon, had been declared king of the Romans, on the death of his brother Henry, which ſoon followed his confinement; but the empire being now declared vacant by the pope, the German biſhops (for none of the princes were preſent) at the inſtigation of his Holineſs, proceeded to A.D. 1246. the election of a new emperor. And they choſe Henry, landgrave of Thuringia, who was ſtyled in deriſion, "The King of Prieſts."

Innocent now renewed the cruſade againſt Frederic. It was proclaimed by the preaching friars, ſince called Dominicans, and the minor friars, known by the name of Cordeliers or Franciſcans; a new militia of the court of Rome, which, about this time, began to be eſtabliſhed in Europe. The pope, however, did not confine himſelf to theſe meaſures only,

35. Gob. Perſ. ubi ſup.

36. M. Paris, *Hiſt. Major.*

 but

PART I. A.D. 1246. but engaged in conſpiracies againſt the life of an emperor who had dared to reſiſt the decree of a council, and oppoſe the whole body of monks and zealots. Frederic's life was ſeveral times in danger from plots, poiſonings, and aſſaſſinations; which induced him, it is ſaid, to make choice of Mahometan guards, whom he was certain would not be under the influence of the prevailing ſuperſtition.

A.D. 1247. MEANWHILE the landgrave of Thuringia dying, the ſame prelates who had taken the liberty of creating one emperor, made another; namely, William count of Holland, a young nobleman of twenty years of age, who bore the ſame contemptuous title as his predeceſſor [37].

FORTUNE, which had hitherto favoured Frederic, ſeemed now to deſert him. He was defeated before A.D. 1248. Parma, which he had long beſieged; and to complete his misfortune, he ſoon after learned, that his natural ſon Entius, whom he had made king of Sardinia, was worſted and taken priſoner by the Bologneſe.

IN this extremity, Frederic retired to his kingdom of Naples, in order to recruit his army; and there A.D. 1250. died of a fever, in the fifty-fifth year of his age [38]. He was a prince of great genius, erudition, and fortitude; and notwithſtanding all the troubles he had to encounter, he built towns, founded univerſities, and gave a kind of new life to learning in Italy.

AFTER the death of Frederic II. the affairs of Germany fell into the utmoſt confuſion, and Italy continued long in the ſame diſtracted ſtate in which he had left it. The clergy took arms againſt the laity,

37. *Annal. Boior.* 38. Krantz. lib. viii. Heiſs, lib. ii. cap. xvii.

the

LETTER XXXI.

the weak were oppreſſed by the ſtrong, and laws divine and human were diſregarded. But a particular hiſtory of that unhappy period would fill the mind with diſguſt and horror: I ſhall therefore only obſerve, that after the death of Frederic's ſon Conrad, who had aſſumed the imperial dignity as ſucceſſor to his father, and the death of his competitor, William of Holland, a variety of candidates appeared for the empire, and ſeveral were elected by different factions; among whom was Richard earl of Cornwall, brother to Henry III. king of England. But no emperor was properly acknowledged, till the year 1273, when Rodolph, count of Hapſburg, was unanimouſly raiſed to the vacant throne. A.D. 1256.

DURING the interregnum which preceded the election of Rodolph, Denmark, Holland, and Hungary entirely freed themſelves from the homage they were wont to pay to the empire; and nearly about the ſame time ſeveral German cities erected a municipal form of government, which ſtill continues. Lubec, Cologne, Brunſwic, and Dantzic, united for their mutual defence againſt the encroachments of the great lords, by a famous aſſociation, called the Hanſeatic League; and theſe towns were afterwards joined by eighty others, belonging to different ſtates, which formed a kind of commercial republic. Italy alſo during this period aſſumed a new form of government. That freedom for which the cities of Lombardy had ſo long ſtruggled was confirmed to them for a ſum of money: they were emancipated by the fruits of their induſtry. Sicily likewiſe changed its government and its prince, as ſhall be related in the hiſtory of France, which furniſhed a ſovereign to the Sicilians.

PART I.

I NEXT propose to carry forward the affairs of England, to the reign of Edward I. a period at which the history of our own island becomes peculiarly interesting to every Briton.

LETTER XXXII.

ENGLAND, *from the granting of the* GREAT CHARTER, *to the Reign of* EDWARD I.

LETTER XXXII.

A. D. 1215.

YOU have already seen, my dear Philip, in what manner king John was forced by his barons to grant the Great Charter of English liberty, and the regulations necessary for preserving it, to which he seemed passively to submit. He went still farther: he dismissed his forces, and promised that his government should be as gentle as his people could wish it. But he only dissembled, till he should find a favourable opportunity to revoke all his concessions; and in order to facilitate such an event, he secretly sent abroad emissaries to enlist foreign soldiers, and to invite the rapacious Brabançons into his service, by the prospect of sharing the spoils of England. He also dispatched a messenger to Rome, to lay the Great Charter before the pope; who, considering himself as superior lord of the kingdom, was incensed at the temerity of the barons, and issued a bull annulling the charter, absolving the king from his oath to observe it, and denouncing a general sentence of excommunication against every one who should persevere in maintaining such treasonable pretensions [1].

1. Rymer, vol. i. M. Paris, *Hist. Major.*

JOHN

A.D. 1215.

John now pulled off the mask: he recalled all that he had done; and as his foreign mercenaries arrived along with the bull, he expected nothing but universal submission. But our gallant ancestors were not so easily to be frightened out of their rights. Langton, the primate, though he owed his elevation to an encroachment of the court of Rome, refused to obey the pope in publishing the sentence of excommunication against the barons. Persons of all ranks, among the clergy as well as laity, seemed determined to maintain, at the expence of their lives, the privileges granted in the Great Charter. John had therefore nothing to rely on for re-establishing his tyranny, but the sword of his Brabançons: and that unfortunately proved too strong, if not for the liberties of England, at least for its prosperity.

The barons, after obtaining the Great Charter, had sunk into a kind of fatal security; having not only dismissed their vassals, but taking no rational measures for re-assembling them on any emergency: so that the king found himself master of the field, without any adequate force to oppose him. Castles were defended, and skirmishes risked, but no regular opposition was made to the progress of the royal arms; while the ravenous mercenaries, incited by a cruel and incensed prince, were let loose against the houses and estates of the barons, and spread devastation over the whole face of the kingdom. Nothing was to be seen, from Dover to Berwick, but the flames of villages, castles reduced to ashes, and the consternation and misery of the helpless inhabitants [2].

In this desperate extremity, the barons dreading the total loss of their liberties, their lives, and their

2. M. Paris. *Chron. Mailros.*

 possessions,

PART I. A.D. 1216.

poſſeſſions, had recourſe to a remedy no leſs deſperate. They offered to acknowledge, as their ſovereign, prince Lewis, eldeſt ſon of Philip Auguſtus king of France, provided he would protect them from the fury of their enraged monarch. The temptation was too great to be reſiſted by a prince of Philip's ambition. He ſent over inſtantly a ſmall army to the relief of the barons, and afterwards a more numerous body of forces, with his ſon Lewis at their head; although the pope's legate threatened him with interdicts and excommunications, if he preſumed to invade the dominions of a prince under the immediate protection of the Holy See. Aſſured of the fidelity of his ſubjects, theſe menaces were little regarded by Philip.

THE French monarch, however, took care to preſerve appearances in his violences, and only appearances. He pretended his ſon Lewis had accepted the offer from the Engliſh barons without his advice, and contrary to his inclinations, and that the armies ſent into England were levied in that prince's name. But theſe artifices were not employed by Philip to deceive. He knew that the pope had too much penetration to be ſo eaſily impoſed upon, and that they were too groſs even to gull the people; but he knew, at the ſame time, that the manner of conducting any meaſure is of as much conſequence as the meaſure itſelf, and that a violation of decency, in the eye of the world, is more criminal than a breach of juſtice.

LEWIS no ſooner landed in England than John was deſerted by his foreign troops, who being principally levied in the French provinces, refuſed to ſerve againſt the heir of their monarchy; ſo that the barons had the melancholy proſpect of ſucceeding in their purpoſe,

LETTER XXXII.

A.D. 1216.

and of eſcaping the tyranny of their own king, by impoſing on themſelves and the nation a foreign yoke. But the imprudent partiality of Lewis to his country-men increaſed that jealouſy, which it was ſo natural for the Engliſh to entertain in their preſent ſituation, and did great hurt to his cauſe. Many of the diſ-ſatisfied barons returned to the king's party; and John was preparing to make a laſt effort for his crown, when death put an end to his troubles and his crimes, in the forty-ninth year of his age, and the eighteenth of his reign. His character is nothing but a complication of vices, equally mean and odious; ruinous to himſelf and deſtructive to his people. But a ſally of wit upon the uſual corpulency of the prieſts, more than all his enormities, made him paſs with the clergy of that age for an impious prince. "How plump and well fed is this animal!"—exclaimed he, one day, when he had caught a very fat ſtag;—"and yet I dare ſwear he never heard "maſs[3]."

JOHN was ſucceeded by his ſon Henry III. only nine years old at his father's death: and for once a minority proved of ſingular ſervice to England. The earl of Pembroke, who by his office of mareſchal was at the head of the military power, and conſequently, in perilous times, at the head of the ſtate, determined to ſupport the authority of the infant prince. He was choſen protector; and, forunately for the young monarch and for the nation, the regency could not have been entruſted into more able or more faithful hands. In order to reconcile all claſſes of men to the government of his pupil, he made him renew and confirm the Great Charter. And he wrote letters in Henry's

3. M. Paris.

name

PART I.
A.D. 1216.

name to all the malcontent barons, repreſenting, that whatever animoſity they might have harboured againſt the late king, they ought to retain none againſt his ſon, who had now ſucceeded to his throne, but neither to his reſentments nor to his principles, and was reſolved to avoid the paths which had led to ſuch dangerous extremities; exhorting them, at the ſame time, by a ſpeedy return to their duty, to reſtore the independency of the kingdom, and ſecure that liberty for which they had ſo zealouſly contended, and which was now confirmed to them by a ſecond charter [4].

THESE arguments, enforced by the character of Pembroke, had a mighty influence on the barons. Moſt of them ſecretly negociated with him, and many of them openly returned to their duty. Lewis therefore, who had made a journey to France and brought over freſh ſuccours with him from that kingdom, found his party much weakened on his return; and that the death of John, contrary to all expectation, had blaſted his favourite deſigns. He laid ſiege however to Dover, which was gallantly defended by Hubert de Burgh. In the mean time the French army, commanded by the count de Perche, was totally defeated by the earl of Pembroke, before the caſtle of Lincoln; and four hundred knights, with many perſons of ſuperior rank, were made priſoners by the Engliſh. Lewis, when informed of this fatal event, retired to London, which was the centre and life of his party. He there received intelligence of a new diſaſter, which extinguiſhed all his hopes. A French fleet, with a ſtrong reinforcement on board, had been repulſed on the coaſt of Kent, and obliged to take ſhelter in their own harbours [5].

4. Rymer, vol. i. Brady, *Append.* No. 143.

5. M. Paris.

A.D. 1216.

The English barons, after this second advantage gained over the French, by the royal party, hastened from all quarters to make peace with the protector, and prevent, by an early submission, those attainders to which they were exposed on account of their rebellion; while Lewis, whose cause was now totally desperate, began to be anxious for the safety of his person, and was glad, on any tolerable conditions, to make his escape from a country where every thing was become hostile to him. He accordingly concluded a treaty with Pembroke, by which he promised to evacuate the kingdom; only stipulating, in return, an indemnity to his adherents, a restitution of their honours and fortunes, and the free and equal enjoyment of those liberties, which had been granted to the rest of the nation[6]. Thus, my dear Philip, was happily terminated a civil war, which seemed to spring from the most incurable hatred and jealousy, and had threatened to make England a province of France.

A.D. 1217.

The prudence and equity of the protector, after the expulsion of the French, contributed to cure entirely those wounds which had been made by intestine discord. He received the rebellious barons into favour; observed strictly the terms of peace, which he had granted them; restored them to their possessions; and endeavoured, by an equal behaviour, to bury all past animosities in perpetual oblivion. But, unfortunately for the kingdom, this great and good man did not long survive the pacification: and Henry, when he came of age, proving a weak and contemptible prince, England was again involved in civil broils, which it would be equally idle and impertinent to relate; as they were neither followed, dur-

6. Rymer, vol. i.

ing

PART I. ing many years, by an event of importance to society, nor attended with any circumstances, which can throw light upon the human character. Their causes and consequences were alike insignificant.

It is necessary however to observe, that the king having married Eleanor, daughter of the count of Provence, was surrounded by a multitude of strangers, from that and other countries, whom he caressed with the fondest affection, and enriched by an imprudent generosity. The insolence of these foreigners is said to have arisen to such a height, that when, on account of their outrages or oppressions, an appeal was made to the laws, they scrupled not to say, "What "do the laws of England signify to us? We mind "them not." This open contempt of the English constitution, roused the resentment of the barons, and tended much to aggravate the general discontent arising from the preference shewn to strangers; as it made every act of violence, committed by a foreigner, appear not only an injury, but an insult. Yet no remonstrance or complaint could ever prevail on the king to abandon them, or even to moderate his attachment towards them.

But Henry's profuse bounty to his foreign relations, and to their friends and favourites, would have appeared more tolerable to the English, had any thing been done for the benefit of the nation; or had the king's enterprizes in foreign countries been attended with any success or glory to himself or the public. Neither of these however was the case. As imprudence governed his policy, misfortune marked his measures.

A.D. 1242. He declared war against France, and made an expedition into Guienne, upon the invitation of his father-in-law, who promised to join him with all his forces; but being worsted at Taillebourg, he was deserted

deserted by his allies, lost what remained to him of Poitou, and was obliged to return with disgrace into England[7].

WANT of œconomy, and an ill-judged liberality, were the great defects in Henry's domestic administration. These kept him always needy, and obliged him continually to harrass his barons for money, under different pretences. Their discontents were thereby increased, and he was still a beggar. Even before his foreign expedition, his debts had become so troublesome, that he sold all his plate and jewels, in order to discharge them. When this expedient was first proposed to him, he asked where he should find purchasers. "In the city of London," it was replied. "On my word," said he, "if the treasury of Augustus were brought to sale, the citizens are able to be the purchasers. These clowns, who assume to themselves the name of barons, abound in every thing, while we are reduced to necessities[8]." And he was thenceforth observed to be more greedy in his exactions upon the citizens.

MANY however as were the grievances that the English, during this reign, had reason to complain of in their civil government, they seem to have been still less burthensome than those which proceeded from spiritual usurpations and abuses; and which Henry, who relied on the pope for the support of his tottering authority never failed to countenance. All the chief benefices of the kingdom were conferred on Italians, great numbers of whom were sent over to be provided for: and non-residence and pluralities were carried to so enormous a height, that Mansel, the king's chaplain, is computed to have held, at one time, seven hundred ecclesiastical livings. The pope exacted the re-

7. M. Paris. W. Hemming. *Chron. Dunst.*

8. M. Paris.

PART I. A. D. 1243. venues of all vacant benefices; the twentieth of all ecclesiastical revenues, without exception; the third of such as exceeded one hundred marks a year, and the half of such as were possessed by non-residents! He claimed also the goods of all intestate clergymen: he pretended a right to inherit all money got by usury, and he levied voluntary contributions on the people[9].

But the most oppressive expedient employed by the court of Rome, in order to drain money from England, was that of embarking Henry in a project for A. D. 1250. the conquest of Sicily. On the death of the emperor Frederic II. the succession of that island devolved to his son Conrad, and afterwards to his grandson Conradine, yet an infant; and as Mainfroy, the emperor's natural son, under pretence of governing the kingdom during the minority of the young prince, had formed a scheme for usurping the sovereignty, Innocent IV. had a good apology for exerting that superiority which the popes claimed over Sicily, and at the same time of gratifying his hatred against the house of Suabia. He accordingly attempted to make himself master of the kingdom; but being disappointed in all his enterprizes by the activity and artifices of Mainfroy, and finding that his own force was not sufficient for such a conquest, he made a tender of the crown to Richard earl of Cornwall, brother to Henry III. and supposed to be the richest subject in Europe. Richard had the prudence to reject the dangerous present, but not the power to prevent the evil. The same offer being afterwards made to the king, in favour of his second son Edmond, that weak monarch was led by the levity and thoughtlessness of his dis-

9. Ibid.

position,

poſition, to embrace the inſidious propoſal, and immenſe ſums were drained from England, under pretence of carrying this project into execution; for the pope took that upon himſelf. But the money was ſtill found inſufficient: the conqueſt of Sicily was as remote as ever. Henry, therefore, ſenſible at length of the cheat, was obliged to reſign into the pope's hands that crown which he had more than purchaſed, but which it was never intended either he or his family ſhould inherit [10]. A. D. 1255.

The earl of Cornwall had now reaſon to value himſelf on his foreſight, in refuſing the fraudulent bargain with Rome, and in preferring the ſolid honours of an opulent and powerful prince of the blood in England, to the empty and precarious glory of a foreign dignity: but he had not always firmneſs ſufficient to adhere to this reſolution. His immenſe wealth made the German princes caſt their eye on him as a candidate for the empire, after the death of William of Holland; and his vanity and ambition for once prevailed over his prudence and his avarice. He went over to Germany, was tempted to expand vaſt ſums on his election, and ſucceeded ſo far as to be choſen by a faction, and crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle; but having no perſonal or family connections in that country, he never could attain any ſolid power. He therefore found it neceſſary to return into England, after having laviſhed away the frugality of a whole life, in order to procure a ſplendid title [11].

A. D. 1256.

A. D. 1257.

Eɴɢʟᴀɴᴅ, in the meanwhile, was involved in new troubles. The weakneſs of Henry's government, and the abſence of his brother, gave reins to the factious

10. Rymer, vol. i. M. Paris. *Chron. Dunſt.*
11. M. Paris.

PART I.

and turbulent ſpirit of the barons. They demanded an extenſion of their privileges; and, if we may credit the hiſtorians of thoſe times, had formed a plan of ſo many limitations on the royal authority, as would have reduced the king to a mere cypher. Henry would agree to nothing but a renewal of the Great Charter; which, at the deſire of the barons, was ratified in the following manner. All the prelates and abbots were aſſembled: they held burning tapers in their hands; the Great Charter was read before them: they denounced the ſentence of excommunication againſt every one who ſhould violate that fundamental law; they threw their tapers on the ground, and exclaimed, "May the ſoul of every one, who incurs this ſentence, ſo ſtink and corrupt in hell!" The king alſo bore a part in the ceremony, and ſubjoined, "So help me God! I will keep all theſe articles inviolate, as I am a man, as I am a Chriſtian, as I am a knight, and as I am a king crowned and anointed [12]."

THIS tremenduous ceremony, however, was no ſooner over than the king forgot his engagements, and the barons renewed their pretenſions. At the head of the malcontents was Simon de Mountfort, earl of Leiceſter, a man of great talents and boundleſs ambition, who had married Eleanor, the king's ſiſter, and hoped to wreſt the ſceptre from the feeble and irreſolute hand that held it. He repreſented to his aſſociates the neceſſity of reforming the ſtate, and of putting the execution of the laws into other hands than thoſe which had hitherto been found, from repeated experience, unfit for that important charge. After ſo many ſubmiſſions and fruitleſs promiſes, the

12. W. Heming. M. Paris. M. Weſt.

king's

king's word, he said, could no longer be relied on, and his inability to violate national privileges could thenceforth only insure their preservation. LETTER XXXII. A.D. 1257.

THESE observations, which were founded in truth, and entirely conformable to the sentiments of those to whom they were addressed, had the desired effect. The barons resolved to take the administration into their own hands: and Henry having summoned a parliament at Oxford, found himself a prisoner in his national council, and was obliged to submit to the terms prescribed to him, called the Provisions of Oxford. According to these provisions, twelve barons were selected from among the king's ministers; twelve more were chosen by the parliament; and to those twenty-four barons unlimited authority was granted to reform the state. Leicester was at the head of this legislative body, to which the supreme power was in reality transferred; and their first step seemed well calculated for the end which they professed to have in view. They ordered that four knights should be chosen by each county; that they should make enquiry into the grievances of which their neighbourhood had reason to complain, and should attend the ensuing parliament, in order to give information to that assembly of the state of their particular counties[13]. A.D. 1258.

THE earl of Leicester and his associates, however, having advanced so far as to satisfy the nation, instead of continuing in the same popular course, immediately provided for the extension and continuation of their own exorbitant authority, at the expence both of the king and the people. They enjoyed the supreme power near three years; and had visibly em-

13. Rymer, vol i. M. Paris. *Chron. Dunst.*

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A.D. 1261. tion, abſolved the king and all his ſubjects, from the oath which they had taken to obſerve the Proviſions of Oxford [14].

As ſoon as Henry received the pope's abſolution from his oath, accompanied with threats of excommunication againſt all his opponents, he reſumed the
A.D. 1262. government; offering, however, to maintain all the regulations made by the reforming barons, except thoſe which entirely annihilated the royal authority. But theſe haughty chieftains could not peaceably reſign that uncontrouled power which they had ſo long enjoyed. Many of them adopted Leiceſter's views, which held in proſpect nothing leſs than the throne it-
A.D. 1263. ſelf. The civil war was renewed in all its horrors: and after ſeveral fruitleſs negociations, the collected force of the two parties met near Lewes in Suſſex;
A.D. 1264. where the royal army was totally defeated, and the king and prince Edward made priſoners.

No ſooner had Leiceſter obtained this victory, and got the royal family in his power, than he acted as ſole maſter, and even tyrant of the kingdom. He ſeized the eſtates of no leſs than eighteen barons, as his ſhare of the ſpoil gained in the battle of Lewes: he engroſſed to himſelf the ranſom of all the priſoners, and told his barons, with wanton inſolence, that it was ſufficient for them that he had ſaved them, by that victory, from the forfeitures and attainders

14. Ibid.

which

LETTER XXXII. A.D. 1264.

which hung over them. All the officers of the crown were named by him; the whole authority, as well as arms of the state, was lodged in his hands[15].

But it was impossible that things could remain long in this equivocal situation. It became necessary for Leicester either to descend to the rank of a subject, or mount up to that of a sovereign: and he could do neither without peril. He summoned a new parliament; which, for his own purposes, he fixed on a more democratical basis than any called since the Norman conquest, if not from the foundation of the monarchy. He ordered returns to be made not only of two knights from every shire, but also of deputies from the boroughs[16]: and thus introduced into the national council a second order of men, hitherto regarded as too mean to enjoy a place in those august assemblies, or have any share in the government of the state.

A.D. 1265.

But although we are indebted to Leicester's usurpation for the first rude outline of the House of Commons, his policy only forwarded by some years an institution, for which the general state of society had already prepared the nation; and that house, though derived from so invidious an origin, when summoned by legal princes, soon proved one of the most useful members of the constitution, and gradually rescued the kingdom, as we shall have occasion to see, both from aristocratical and regal tyranny. It is but just, however, to observe, That as this necessary, and now powerful branch of our constitntion, owed its rise to usurpation, it is the only one of the three that has latterly given an usurper to the state. The person to whom I allude is Oliver Cromwell; and I will be so

15. Rymer, vol. i. M. Paris. W. Heming. H. Knyghton.
26. Ibid.

PART I. A. D. 1265.

bold as to affirm, That if ever England is again subjected to the absolute will of any ONE man, unless from abroad, that man must be a member of the House of Commons. The people are alike jealous of the power of the king and of the nobles; but they are themselves greedy of dominion, and can only possess it through their representatives. A popular member of the lower house, therefore, needs only ambition, enterprize, and a favourable conjuncture to overturn the throne; to strip the nobles of their dignities; and, while he blows the trumpet of liberty, to tell his equals they are slaves.

LEICESTER's motive for giving this form to the parliament, was a desire of crushing his rivals among the powerful barons; and trust to the popularity acquired by such a measure, he made the earl of Derby be accused in the king's name, and ordered him to be seized and committed to prison without being brought to any legal trial. Several other barons were threatned with the same fate, and deserted the confederacy. The royalists flew to arms; prince Edward made his escape; and the joy of this young hero's appearance, together with the oppressions under which the nation laboured, soon produced him a force which Leicester was unable to resist. A battle was fought near Evesham; where Leicester was slain, and his army totally routed. When that nobleman, who possessed great military talents, observed the vast superiority in numbers, and excellent dispositions of the royalists, he exclaimed, "The Lord have mercy on our souls! "for I see our bodies are prince Edward's: he has "learned from me the art of war [17]." Another particular deserves to be noticed. The old king, disguised in armour, having been purposely placed by

17. W. Heming. M. Paris.

the

the rebels in the front of the battle, had received a wound, and was ready to be put to death, when he weakly, but opportunely cried out, "Spare my "life!—I am Henry of Winchester, your king[18]." His brave son flew to his rescue, and put him in a place of safety.

LETTER XXXII.

A.D. 1265.

THE victory of Evesham proved decisive in favour of the royal party, but was used with moderation. Although the suppression of so extensive a rebellion commonly produces a revolution in government, and strengthens as well as enlarges the prerogatives of the crown, no sacrifices of national liberty were exacted upon this occasion. The clemency of this victory is also remarkable; no blood was shed on the scaffold. The mild disposition of the king, and the prudence of the prince, tempered the insolence of power, and gradually restored order to the several members of the state.

THE affairs of England were no sooner settled than prince Edward, seduced by a thirst of glory, undertook an expedition to the Holy Land; where he signalized himself by many acts of valour, and struck such terror into the Saracens, that they employed an assassin to murder him. The ruffian wounded Edward in the arm, but paid for his temerity with his life[19]. Meanwhile the prince's absence from England was productive of many pernicious consequences, which the old king, unequal to the burden of government, was little able to prevent[20]. He therefore implored his gallant son to return, and assist him in

A.D. 1270.

18. W. Heming. lib. ii.

19. M. Paris T. Wykes.

20. The police was so loose during the latter part of Henry's reign, that not only single houses, but whole villages were often pillaged by bands of robbers. *Chron. Dunst.*

PART I.
A.D. 1271.

ſwaying that ſceptre which was ready to drop from his feeble hands. Edward obeyed; but before his arrival the king expired, in the ſixty-fourth year of his age, and the fifty-ſixth of his reign, the longeſt in the Engliſh annals.

THE moſt obvious feature in the character of Henry III. is his weakneſs. From this ſource, rather than from inſincerity or treachery, aroſe his negligence in obſerving his promiſes; and hence for the ſake of preſent conveniency, he was eaſily induced to ſacrifice the laſting advantages ariſing from the truſt and confidence of his people. A better head, with the ſame diſpoſitions, would have prevented him from falling into ſo many errors! but (every good has its allay!) with a worſe heart, it would have enabled him to maintain them.

PRINCE Edward had reached Sicily, in his return from the Holy Land, when he received intelligence of the death of his father, and immediately proceeded homeward. But a variety of objects, my dear Philip, claim your attention, before I carry farther the tranſactions of our own iſland, which now become truly important. The reign of Edward I. forms a new æra in the hiſtory of Britain.

LETTER XXXIII.

FRANCE, *from the Reign of* PHILIP AUGUSTUS, *to the End of the Reign of* LEWIS IX. *commonly called* ST. LEWIS, *with ſome Account of the laſt* CRUSADE.

LETTER XXXIII.

THE reign of Philip Auguſtus has already engaged our attention. We have had occaſion to obſerve the great abilities of that prince, both as a warrior and a politician: we have ſeen him reunite many fine provinces to the kingdom of France at the expence of the Engliſh monarchy: we have ſeen him attempt the conqueſt of England itſelf; and we have alſo ſeen in what manner prince Lewis was obliged to abandon that project, notwithſtanding the power and the intrigues of Philip. Soon after the return of Lewis, his father died, and left the kingdom of France twice as large as he had received it; ſo that future acquiſitions became eaſy to his ſucceſſors. A.D. 1223.

LEWIS VIII. however, did not enlarge the monarchy. His ſhort reign was chiefly ſpent in a cruſade againſt the Albigenſes, in the proſecution of which he died. He was ſucceeded by his ſon Lewis IX. commonly called St. Lewis. During the minority of this prince, though in his twelfth year at his acceſſion, a variety of diſorders aroſe in France, occaſioned chiefly by the ambition of the powerful vaſſals of the crown. But all theſe were happily compoſed by the prudence and firmneſs of Blanche of Caſtile, the regent and queen-mother. A.D. 1226.

LEWIS no ſooner came of age than he was univerſally acknowledged to be the greateſt prince in Europe; and his character is, perhaps, the moſt ſingular in the annals of hiſtory. To the mean and abject A.D. 1235.

PART I. A.D. 1235. superstition of a monk, he united all the courage and magnanimity of a hero; nay, what may be deemed still more wonderful, the justice and integrity of the sincere patriot; and, where religion was not concerned, the mildness and humanity of the true philosopher. So far was he from taking advantage of the divisions among the English, during the reign of Henry III. or attempting to expel those dangerous rivals from the provinces which they still possessed in France, that he entertained many scruples in regard to the sentence of attainder pronounced against the king's father; and had not his bishops, it is said, persuaded him, that John was justly punished for his barbarity and felony, he would have restored all the conquests made by Philip Augustus[1].

WHEN Gregory IX. after excommunicating Frederic II. offered the empire to the count of Artois, brother of St. Lewis, this pious prince acted in the same disinterested manner. He did not indeed refuse that gift as what the pope had no right to bestow, but he replied, That Frederic had always appeared to him a good catholic; that ambassadors should first be sent to him, to know his sentiments touching the faith; that, if orthodox, there could be no reason for attacking him; but if heretical, war ought to be carried on against him with violence; and, in such case, even against the pope himself[2].

A.D. 1240.

THIS was Lewis's foible. Persuaded that heretics, or those who did not hold the established belief, deserved the punishment of death, he favoured the tribunal of the inquisition: and the same turn of thinking led him to ascribe merit to a war against Infidels. His humane heart became a prey to the barbarous devotion

1. Nangius, in *Vita Ludovici IX.* 2. Id. ibid.

votion of the times. Being ſeized with a dangerous illneſs, which deprived him of his ſenſes, and almoſt of his life, his heated imagination took fire, and he thought he heard a voice commanding him to ſhed the blood of Infidels. He accordingly made a vow, as ſoon as he recovered, to engage in a new cruſade, and immediately took the croſs. Nor could any remonſtrances engage him to forego his purpoſe: he conſidered his vow as a ſacred obligation, which it was not permitted man to diſſolve [3]. A.D. 1244.

But Lewis, though not to be diſſuaded from his Eaſtern expedition, was in no hurry to depart. He ſpent four years in making preparations, and in ſettling the government of his kingdom, which he left to the care of his mother; and, at length, ſet ſail for Cyprus, accompanied by his queen, his three brothers, and almoſt all the knights of France. At Cyprus it was reſolved to make a deſcent upon Egypt, as experience had ſhewn, that Jeruſalem and the Holy Land could never be preſerved, while that country remained in the hands of the Infidels [4]. But before I ſpeak of the tranſactions of Egypt, I muſt ſay a few words of the ſtate of the Eaſt in thoſe times. A. D. 1248.

Asia, my dear Philip, from the earlieſt ages, has been the ſeat of enormous monarchy, and the theatre of the moſt aſtoniſhing revolutions. You have ſeen with what rapidity it was over-run by the Arabs, and afterwards by the Turks; you have ſeen thoſe conquering people, for a time, born down by the champions of the croſs, and Saladin himſelf ſink beneath the arm of our illuſtrious Richard. But neither the zeal of the Chriſtians, nor the enthuſiaſm of the Mahometans, who were ſuppoſed to have carried con-

3. Joinville, *Hiſt. de St. Louis.*

4. Ibid.

queſt

PART I.

queſt to its utmoſt point, was attended with a ſucceſs equal to the hardy valour of the Moguls, or Weſtern Tartars, under Genghiz-Kan; who, in a few years, extended his dominions, from a ſmall territory, to more than eighteen hundred leagues, from eaſt to weſt, and above a thouſand from north to ſouth. He conquered Perſia, and puſhed his conqueſts as far as the Euphrates; ſubdued Indoſtan, and great part of China; all Tartary, and the frontier provinces of Ruſſia.

THIS wonderful man died in 1226, when he was preparing to complete the conqueſt of China. His empire was divided among his four ſons, whoſe names it is unneceſſary here to mention. They continued united till the death of Octay, his ſucceſſor as Great Kan, who totally ſubjected Egypt. One of his grandſons paſſed the Euphrates; diſpoſſeſſed the Turks of that part of Aſia Minor now called Natolia, and terminated the dominion of the Califs of Bagdat. Another of them carried terror into Poland, Hungary, Dalmatia, and to the very gates of Conſtantinople[5].

THESE Weſtern Tartars, accuſtomed from their birth to brave hunger, fatigue, and death, were irreſiſtible, while they preſerved their ſavage auſterity of manners. The offspring of the ſame deſarts which had produced the Scythians, the Huns, and Turks, they were more fierce than either; and as the Goths had formerly ſeized upon Thrace, when expelled by the Huns from their native habitations, the Koraſmins, in like manner, flying before the Moguls, over-ran Syria and Paleſtine, and made themſelves maſters of Jeruſalem in 1244, putting the inhabitants to the ſword[6].

5. De la Croix, *Vit. Genghiz-Kan.* *Mod. Univ. Hiſt.* vol. iii. fol. edit. 6. Id. ibid.

The

The Chriſtians, however, ſtill poſſeſſed Tyre, Sidon, Tripoli, and Ptolemais; and though always divided among themſelves, and cutting one another's throats, they united in imploring the aſſiſtance of Europe againſt this new danger.

SUCH was the ſituation of the Eaſt, and of the Oriental Chriſtians, when St. Lewis ſet out for their relief. But inſtead of ſailing immediately for Paleſtine, he made a deſcent, as I have obſerved, upon Egypt. His declared purpoſe in ſo doing has been already explained. But as the ſoldan of Egypt was not now in poſſeſſion of Jeruſalem, this invaſion muſt have proceeded from the king of France's ignorance of the affairs of the Eaſt; or from an ambition of conquering ſo fine a country. more than from any hope of advancing the intereſt of Chriſtianity.

LEWIS and his prodigious army, ſaid to have been tranſported in eighteen hundred ſhips, landed near the city of Damietta; which, contrary to all expectation, was abandoned to them. He afterwards received freſh ſuccours from France; and found himſelf in the plains of Egypt at the head of ſixty thouſand men, the flower of his kingdom, by whom he was both obeyed and loved. What might not have been expected from ſuch a force, under ſuch a general! Not only Egypt, but Syria, ſhould have yielded to their arms. Yet this cruſade, like all the reſt, terminated in ſorrow and diſappointment. One half of theſe fine troops fell a prey to ſickneſs and debauchery; the others was defeated by the ſoldan, at Maſſoura; where Lewis beheld his brother Robert of Artois killed by his ſide, and himſelf taken priſoner, together with his other two brothers, the count of Anjou

A.D. 1249.

A.D. 1250.

PART I.

A. D. 1250. Anjou and the count of Poitiers, and all his nobility [7].

THE French, however, were ſtill in poſſeſſion of Damietta. There St. Lewis's conſort was lodged; and thinking her ſafety doubtful, as the place was beſieged, ſhe addreſſed herſelf to the Sieur Joinville, a venerable knight, and made him promiſe, on the faith of chivalry, to cut off her head, if ever her virtue ſhould be in danger. "Moſt readily," anſwered Joinville, in the true ſpirit of the times, "will I perform at your requeſt, what I thought indeed to do of myſelf, ſhould misfortune make it "neceſſary." But he had happily no occaſion to put his promiſe in execution. Damietta held out, and a treaty was concluded with the ſoldan; by which that city was reſtored, in conſideration of the king's liberty, and a thouſand pieces of gold paid for the ranſom of the other priſoners [8].

LEWIS was now ſolicited to return to Europe with the remnant of his fleet and army, but devotion led him to Paleſtine; where he continued for four years, without effecting any thing of conſequence. In the meantime the affairs of France were in much confuſion. The queen-mother, during the king's captivity, had unadviſedly given permiſſion to a fanatical monk, to preach a new cruſade for her ſon's releaſe; and this man availing himſelf of the paſtoral circum-

A. D. 1251. ſtance in the Nativity, aſſembled near one hundred thouſand people of low condition, whom he called ſhepherds. It ſoon appeared, however, that they might with more propriety have been ſtyled wolves. They robbed and pillaged wherever they came; and

7. Joinville, *Hiſt. de St. Louis.*

8. Id. ibid.

it

it was found neceſſary to diſperſe them by force of arms. Nor was that effected without much trouble[9]. LETTER XXXIII.

THE death of the queen-mother determined Lewis, at laſt, to reviſit France. But he only returned in order to prepare for a new cruſade; ſo ſtrongly had that madneſs taken hold of his mind!—Meanwhile his zeal for juſtice, his care to reform abuſes, his wiſe laws, his virtuous example, ſoon repaired the evils occaſioned by his abſence. He eſtabliſhed, on a ſolid foundation, the right of appeal to the royal judges; one of the beſt expedients for reducing the exorbitant power of the nobles. He abſolutely prohibited private wars, which the feudal anarchy had tolerated: he ſubſtituted juridical proofs, inſtead of thoſe by duel; and, no leſs enlightened than pious, he reſcued France from the exactions of the court of Rome[10].

A.D. 1258.

IN his tranſactions with his neighbours, Lewis was alike exemplary. Equity and diſintereſtedneſs were the baſis of his policy. If he ſometimes carried theſe virtues too far, as a prince, they always did him honour as a man: they even procured him reſpect as a ſovereign; and ſecured to his ſubjects the greateſt bleſſing that a people can enjoy, peace and proſperity. He ceded to James I. of Arragon his inconteſtable right to Rouſillon and Catalonia, which had been ſubject to France from the time of Charlemagne, in exchange for certain claims of that monarch to ſome fiefs in Provence and Languedoc; and he reſtored to the Engliſh crown Querci, Perigord, and the Limouſin, for no higher conſideration than that the

A.D. 1262.

A.D. 1263.

9. Fontenay, *Hiſt. de l'Egliſe Gallic.* tom. xi. Boulay, *Hiſt. Acad. Paris*, tom. iii.
10. Id. Ibid.

king

PART I. A.D. 1263. king of England ſhould renounce all right to Normandy, Maine, and the other forfeited provinces, which were already in the poſſeſſion of France. But Lewis, as has been obſerved, was doubtful of the right by which he held thoſe provinces. And although an ambitious prince, inſtead of making this compromiſe, might have taken advantage of the troubles of England under Henry III. to ſeize Guienne, and all that remained to that monarchy in France, ſuch a prince might alſo, by theſe means, have drawn on himſelf the jealouſy of his neighbours, and in the end have fallen a ſacrifice to his rapacity: whereas Lewis, by his moderation, acquired the confidence of all Europe, and was choſen arbiter between the king of A.D. 1264. England and his barons, at a time when it was his intereſt to have ruined both; an honour never conferred upon any other rival monarch, and with which, perhaps, no other, could ever ſafely have been truſted. He determined in favour of the king without prejudice to the people: he annulled the Proviſions of Oxford, as derogatory to the rights of the crown, but enforced the obſervation of the Great Charter. And although this ſentence was rejected by Leiceſter and his party, it will remain to all ages an eternal monument of the equity of Lewis [11].

The moſt blameable circumſtance in this great monarch's conduct, and perhaps the only one that deſerves to be conſidered in that light, was his approbation of the treaty between his brother and the pope, relative to Sicily. That kingdom had formerly been offered, as you have ſeen, to the earl of Cornwall, and to prince Edmond, ſon of Henry III. After being given up by England, it was offered to the count of

11. Rymer, vol. i. *Chron.* T. Wykes. *Chron. Dunſt.* M. Paris. W. Heming.

Anjou:

Anjou: he accepted it; and Lewis permitted a crusade to be preached in France against Mainfroy, who had now actually usurped the Sicilian throne, in prejudice of his nephew Conradine. The count of Anjou marched into Italy at the head of a numerous army. Mainfroy was defeated and slain in the plains of Benevento, and Conradine appeared in vindication of his native rights. He also was routed, and taken prisoner, together with his uncle, the duke of Austria; and both were executed at Naples, upon a scaffold, at the request of the pope, and by the sentence of a pretended court of justice [12]: an indignity not hitherto offered to a crowned head.

LETTER XXXIII.

A.D. 1266.

A.D. 1268.

In consequence of the revolution that followed this barbarity, by which Charles, count of Anjou, established himself on the Sicilian throne, the ancient rights of that island were annihilated, and it fell entirely under the jurisdiction of the pope. Meanwhile St. Lewis, who, either out of respect to his Holiness, or of complaisance to his brother, thus beheld with indifference the liberties of mankind sacrificed, and the blood of princes unjustly spilt, was preparing to lead a new army against the Infidels. He hoped to make a convert of the king of Tunis; and, for that purpose, landed on the coast of Africa, sword in hand, at the head of his troops. But the Mussulman refused to embrace Christianity: the French army was seized with an epidemical distemper; of which Lewis beheld one of his sons expire, and another at the point of death, when he was seized with it himself, and died in the fifty-sixth year of his age. His son and successor, Philip, recovered; kept the field against the Moors; and saved the remains of the French army, which procured him the name of the

A.D. 1270.

A.D. 1271.

12. Giannone, *Hist. di Nap.*

Hardy.

PART I. Hardy [13]. But the reign of this prince muſt not at preſent engage our attention: we muſt return to the affairs of Spain, which had ſtill little connexion with the reſt of Europe, but was every day riſing into conſequence.

LETTER XXXIV.

SPAIN, *from the Middle of the Eleventh to the End of the Thirteenth* CENTURY.

LETTER XXXIV.

WE left Spain, my dear Philip, towards the middle of the eleventh century, diſmembered by the Moors and Chriſtians, and both a prey to civil wars. About that time Ferdinand, ſon of Sancho, ſurnamed the Great, king of Navarre and Arragon, reunited to his dominions Old Caſtile, together with the kingdom of Leon, which he took from his bro-
A.D. 1037. ther-in-law, whom he ſlew in battle. Caſtile then became a kingdom, and Leon one of its provinces [1].

IN the reign of this Ferdinand lived Don Roderigo, ſurnamed the Cid, who actually married Chimene, whoſe father he had murdered. They who know nothing of this hiſtory, but from the celebrated tragedy written by Corneille, ſuppoſe that Ferdinand was in poſſeſſion of Andaluſia. The Cid began his famous exploits by aſſiſting Don Sancho, Ferdinand's eldeſt ſon, to ſtrip his brothers and ſiſters of the inheritance left them by their father; but Sancho being murdered
A.D. 1072. in one of theſe unjuſt expeditions, his brothers entered again into poſſeſſion of their eſtates.

13. Joinville, ubi ſup. Mezeray, tom. iii. Henault, tom. i.
1. Mariana, *Hiſt. Gen. de Eſpana.*

A SHORT digreſſion will be here neceſſary. Beſides the many kings at this time in Spain, who amounted to near the number of twenty, there were alſo many independent lords, who came on horſe-back completely armed, and followed by ſeveral ſquires, to offer their ſervice to the princes and princeſſes egaged in war. The princes with whom theſe lords engaged girded them with a belt, and preſented them with a ſword, with which they gave him a ſlight blow on the ſhoulder; and hence the origin of knights-errant, and of the number of ſingle combats, which ſo long deſolated Spain.

ONE of the moſt celebrated of theſe combats was fought after the murder of that king Sancho, whoſe death I have juſt mentioned, and who was aſſaſſinated while he was baſieging his ſiſter Auraca in the city of Zamora. Three knights maintained the honour of the infanta againſt Don Diego de Lara, who had accuſed her. Don Diego overthrew and killed two of the infanta's knights, and the horſe of the third having the reins of his bridle cut, carried his maſter out of the liſts, and the combat was declared undecided.

OF all the Spaniſh knights, the Cid diſtinguiſhed himſelf moſt eminently againſt the Moors. Several knights ranged themſelves under his banner; and theſe knights, with their ſquires and horſemen, compoſed an army covered with iron, and mounted on the moſt beautiful ſteeds in the country. With this force he overcame ſeveral Mooriſh kings; and having fortified the city of Alcaſſar, he there erected a little ſovereignty.

BUT of the various enterprizes in which the Cid and his followers were engaged, the moſt gallant was the ſiege of Toledo, which his maſter Alphonſo VI.

PART I. A. D. 1084. king of Old Caſtile, undertook againſt the Moors. The noiſe of this ſiege, and the Cid's reputation, brought many knights and princes from France and Italy; particularly Raymond, count of Tholouſe, and two princes of the blood royal of France, of the branch of Burgundy. The Mooriſh king, named Hiaya, was the ſon of Almamon, one of the moſt generous princes mentioned in hiſtory, and who had afforded an aſylum, in this very city of Toledo, to Alphonſo, when perſecuted by his brother Sancho. They had lived together for a long time in ſtrict friendſhip; and Almemon was ſo far from detaining Alphonſo, when he became king by the death of Sancho, that he gave him part of his treaſures, and they ſhed tears, it is ſaid, at parting. But the ſpirit of thoſe times made every thing lawful againſt Infidels, and even meritorious. Several Mooriſh princes went out of the city to reproach Alphonſo with his ingratitude, and many remarkable combats were fought under the walls.

THIS ſiege laſted a whole year; at the end of which A. D. 1085. Toledo capitulated; on condition that the Moors ſhould enjoy their religion and laws, and ſuffer no injury in their perſons or property [2]. All New Caſtile, in a ſhort time, yielded to the Cid, who took poſſeſſion of it in the name of Alphonſo; and Madrid, a ſmall place, which was one day to become the capital of Spain, fell into the hands of the Chriſtians.

IMMEDIATELY after the reduction of Toledo, Alphonſo called an aſſembly of biſhops, who without the concurrence of the people, formerly thought neceſ-

2. Rod. Tolet. *de Reb. Hiſp.* Mariana, ubi ſup. Ferreras, *Hiſt. de Eſpana.*

ſary,

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A. D. 1085.

sary, promoted a priest named Bernard to the bishoprick of that city; and pope Urban II. at the king's request, made him primate of Spain. The king and the pope were also anxious to establish the Roman liturgy and ritual in place of the Gothic, or Musarabic, hitherto in use. The Spaniards contended zealously for the ritual of their ancestors: the pope urged them to receive that to which he had given his infallible sanction: a violent squabble arose; and, to the disgrace of human reason, a religious opinion was referred to the decision of the sword. Two knights accordingly entered the lists in complete armour. The Musarabic champion was victorious; but the king and the archbishop had influence enough to get a new trial appointed, though contrary to all the laws of combat. The next appeal was to God by fire. A fire being prepared for that purpose, a copy of each liturgy was cast into the flames. The fire, most likely, respected neither; but authority prevailed. The Roman liturgy was ordered to be received; yet some churches were permitted to retain the Musarabic[3].

Alphonso, either from policy or inclination, augmented the dominions which he had acquired through the valour of the Cid, by marrying Zaid, daughter of Abenhabet, the Mahometan king of Seville, with whom he received several towns in dowry: and he is reproached with having, in conjunction with his father-in-law, invited the Miramolin of Africa into Spain. But be that as it may, the Miramolin came; and, instead of assisting, as was expected, the king of Seville, in reducing the petty Moorish princes, he turned his arms against Abenhabet; took the city

3. Id. ibid.

PART I. A.D. 1097. of Seville, and became a dangerous neighbour to Alphonso[4].

In the mean time the Cid, at the head of his army of knights, subdued the kingdom of Valentia. Few kings in Spain were, at that time, so powerful as he; yet he never assumed the regal title, but continued faithful to his master Alphonso. He governed Valentia, however, with all the authority of a sovereign, receiving ambassadors, and being treated with the highest respect by all nations. After his death, which happened in 1096, the kings of Castile and Arragon continued their wars against the Infidels; and Spain was more drenched in blood than ever, and more desolated.

Alphonso, surnamed the Battle-giver, king of Navarre and Arragon, took Saragossa from the Moors; and that city, which afterwards became the A.D. 1118. capital of the kingdom of Arragon, never again returned under the dominion of the Infidels. He was continually at war either with the Christians or Mahometans; and the latter gained a complete victory over him, which mortified him so much, that he died A.D. 1134. of chagrin, leaving his kingdom by will to the Knights Templars. This was bequeathing a civil war as his last legacy. The testament was esteemed valid; but fortunately these knights were not in a condition to enforce it; and the states of Arragon chose for their king Garcias Remiero, brother to the deceased monarch. He had led a monastic life for upwards of forty years, and proved incapable of governing. The people of Navarre therefore chose another king, descended from their ancient monarchs; and, by this

4. Rod. Tolet. *de Reb. Hisp.*

division, both these states became a prey to the Moors. They were saved by the timely assistance of Alphonso VII. king of Castile; who had obtained many victories over the Infidels, and in return for his protection received the city of Saragossa from the Arragonese, and the homage of the king of Navarre. This success so much elated Alphonso, that he assumed the title of Emperor of Spain [5]. A.D. 1134.

ALPHONSO HENRIQUEZ, count of Portugal, received about this time the title of king from his soldiers, after a victory obtained over the Moors; and he took Lisbon from them by the assistance of the crusaders, as has been already mentioned. On this occasion pope Alexander III. steady to the policy of his predecessors, took advantage of the papal maxim, That all countries conquered from the Infidels belong to the Holy See, to assert his superiority over Portugal; and Alphonso politically allowed him an annual tribute of two marks of gold, on receiving a bull from Rome confirming his regal dignity, and his infallible right to that territory [6]. A.D. 1147. A.D. 1179.

A VERY few efforts would now have been sufficient to have driven the Moors entirely out of Spain; but for that purpose it was necessary, that the Spanish Christians should be united among themselves, whereas they were unhappily engaged in perpetual wars one with another. They united however at length, from a sense of common danger, and also implored the assistance of the other Christian princes of Europe. A.D. 1211.

5. Id. ibid.

6. Neufville, *Hist. Gen. de Port.*

PART I.

A.D. 1211. MAHOMET Ben Joseph, Miramolin of Africa, having crossed the sea with an army of near one hundred thousand men, and being joined by the Moors in Andalusia, assured himself of making an entire conquest of Spain. The rumour of this great armament roused the attention of the whole European continent Many adventurers came from all quarters. To these the kings of Castile, Arragon, and Navarre, united their forces: the kingdom of Portugal also furnished A.D. 1212. a body of troops; and the Christian and Mahometan armies met in the defiles of the Black Mountain, or Sierra Morena, on the borders of Andalusia, and in the province of Toledo. Alphonso the Noble, king of Castile, commanded the centre of the Christian army: the archbishop of Toledo carried the cross before him. The Miramolin occupied the same place in the Moorish army: he was dressed in a rich robe, with the Koran in one hand, and a sabre in the other. The battle was long and obstinately disputed, but at length the Christians prevailed[7]: and the sixteenth of July, the day on which the victory was gained, is still celebrated in Toledo.

THE consequences of this victory, however, were not so great as might have been expected. The Moors of Andalusia were strengthened by the remains of the African army, while that of the Christians was immediately dispersed. Almost all the knights, who had been present at the battle, returned to their respective homes as soon as it was over. But although the Christians seemed thus to neglect their true interest, by allowing the Mahometans time to recruit themselves, the Moors employed that time more to their own hurt than the Christians could, if united against them. All the Moorish states, both in Spain and Africa, were

7. Rod. Tolet. *de Reb. Hisp.*

rent in pieces by civil diſſenſions, and a variety of new ſovereignties ſprung up, which entirely broke the power of the Infidels. LETTER XXXIV.

The period ſeemed therefore arrived, to uſe the language of that haughty and ſuperſtitious nation, marked out by Heaven for the glory of Spain, and the expulſion of the Moors. Ferdinand III. ſtyled by his countrymen St. Ferdinand, took from the Infidels the famous city of Cordova, the reſidence of the firſt A. D. 1236.
Mooriſh kings; and James I. of Arragon diſpoſſeſſed them of the iſland of Majorca, and drove them out A. D. 1238.
of the fine kingdom of Valentia. St. Ferdinand alſo ſubdued the province of Murcia, and made himſelf maſter of Seville, the moſt opulent city belonging to A. D. 1248.
the Moors [8]. Death at length put an end to his con- A. D. 1252.
queſts: and if divine honours are due to thoſe who have been the deliverers of their country, Spain juſtly reverences the name of Ferdinand III.

Alphonso, ſurnamed the Aſtronomer, or the Wiſe, the ſon of St. Ferdinand, likewiſe exalted the glory of Spain; but in a manner very different from that of his father. This prince, who rivalled the Arabians in the ſciences, digeſted the celebrated Spaniſh code, called *Las Portidas*; and under his inſpection thoſe aſtronomical tables were drawn up, which ſtill bear his name, and do honour to his memory. In his old age he ſaw his ſon Sancho rebel againſt him, and was reduced to the diſagreeable neceſſity of leaguing with the Moors againſt his own blood, and his re- A. D. 1283.
bellious Chriſtian ſubjects. This was not the firſt alliance which Chriſtians had entered into with Mahometans, againſt Chriſtians; but it was certainly the moſt excuſable.

8. Id. ibid.

PART I.

A.D. 1283. ALPHONSO invited to his assistance the Miramolin of Africa, who immediately crossed the sea; and the two monarchs met at Zara, on the confines of Granada. The behaviour and speech of the Miramolin, on this occasion, deserves to be transmitted to the latest posterity. He gave the place of honour to Alphonso at meeting: "I treat you thus," said he, "because "you are unfortunate; and enter into alliance with "you merely to revenge the common cause of all "kings and all fathers [9]."

THE rebels were overcome; but the good old king died before he had time to enjoy the fruits of his victory: and the Miramolin being obliged to return to Africa, the unnatural Sancho succeeded to the crown in prejudice to the offspring of a former marriage. He even reigned happily; and his son Ferdinand IV.

A.D. 1303. took Gibraltar from the Moors [10].

THIS Ferdinand is called by the Spanish historians the Summoned: and the reason they assign for it is somewhat remarkable. Having ordered two noblemen, in a fit of anger, to be thrown from the top of a rock, those noblemen, before they were pushed off, summoned him to appear in the presence of God within a month, at the end of which he died [11]. It is to be wished, as Voltaire very justly observes, that this story were true; or at least believed to be so, by all princes who think they have a right to follow their own imperious wills at the expence of the lives of their fellow-creatures.

THESE are the circumstances most worthy of notice in the history of Spain during the period here

9. Ferreras et Mariana, ubi supra. 10. Ibid.
11. Ferreras, *Hist. España.*

examined.

examined. We muſt now take a view of the progreſs of Society. LETTER XXXIV.

LETTER XXXV.

Progreſs of SOCIETY *in* EUROPE *during the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries.*

YOU have already, my dear Philip, ſeen letters begin to revive, and manners to ſoften, about the middle of the eleventh century. But the progreſs of refinement was ſlow during the two ſucceeding centuries, and often altogether obſtructed by monaſtic auſterities, theological diſputes, eccleſiaſtical broils, and the diſorders of the feudal anarchy. Society, however, made many beneficial advances, before the cloſe of this period. Theſe I ſhall endeavour diſtinctly to trace. LETTER XXXV.

THE influence of the ſpirit of Chivalry on manners, as we have ſeen, was great and ſingular: it enlarged the generoſities of the human heart, and ſoothed its ferocity. But being unhappily blended with ſuperſtition, it became itſelf the means of violence; armed one half of the ſpecies againſt the other, and precipitated Europe upon Aſia. I allude to the Cruſades. Yet theſe romantic expeditions, though barbarous and deſtructive in themſelves, were followed by many important conſequences, equally conducive to the welfare of the community and of the individual. All adventurers who aſſumed the croſs being taken under the immediate protection of the church, and its heavieſt anathemas denounced againſt ſuch as ſhould moleſt their perſons or their property, private hoſ-

PART I. hoſtilities were for a time ſuſpended or extinguiſhed: the feudal ſovereigns became more powerful, and their vaſſals leſs turbulent; a more ſteady adminiſtration of juſtice was introduced, and ſome advances were made towards regular government.

THE commercial effects of the cruſades were no leſs conſiderable than their political influence. Many ſhips were neceſſary to tranſport the prodigious armies which Europe poured forth, and alſo to ſupply them with proviſions. Theſe ſhips were principally furniſhed by the Venetians, the Piſans, and the Genoeſe; who acquired, by that ſervice, immenſe ſums of money, and opened to themſelves, at the ſame time, a new ſource of wealth, by importing into Europe the commodities of Aſia. A taſte for theſe commodities became general. The Italian cities grew rich, powerful, and obtained extenſive privileges. Some of them erected themſelves into ſovereignties, others into corporations or independent communities [1]; and the eſtabliſhment of thoſe communities may be conſidered as the firſt great ſtep towards civilization in Modern Europe.

THIS ſubject requires your particular attention. The feudal government, as I have frequently had occaſion to obſerve, had degenerated into a ſyſtem of oppreſſion. The nobles had reduced the great body of the people to a ſtate of actual ſervitude, and the condition of thoſe denominated free was little, if at all, more deſirable. Not only the inhabitants of the country, but even whole cities and villages held of ſome great lord, on whom they depended for protection; and the citizens were no leſs ſubject to his arbitrary juriſdiction, than thoſe employed in cultivating the

1. Murat. *Antiq. Ital.* vol. ii.

eſtates

estates of their masters. Services of various kinds, equally disgraceful and oppressive, were exacted from them, without mercy or moderation: and they were deprived of the most natural and unalienable rights of humanity. They could not dispose of their effects by will; appoint guardians to their children, or even marry without the consent of their superior lord [2].

MEN in such a condition had few motives to industry. Accordingly we find all the cities of Europe, before their enfranchisement, equally poor and wretched. But no sooner were they formed into bodies politic, governed by magistrates chosen from among their own members, than the spirit of industry revived, and commerce began to flourish. Population increased with independency; the conveniences of life, with the means of procuring them: property gave birth to statutes and regulations; a sense of common interest enforced them; and the more frequent occasions of intercourse among men, and between kingdoms, gradually led to a greater refinement in manners, and tended to wear off those national and local prejudices which create dissension and animosity between the inhabitants of different states and provinces.

THE manner in which these immunities were obtained, was different in the different kingdoms of Europe. Some of the Italian cities, as we have seen, acquired their freedom by arms, others by money; and in France and Germany, many of the great barons were glad to sell charters of liberty to the towns within their jurisdiction, in order to repair the expence incurred by the crusades. The sovereigns also

2. *Ordon. des Rois de France*, tom. i. iii. Dach. Spiceleg. tom. xi. Murat. *Antiquit. Ital.* vol. iv.

granted,

PART I.

granted, or ſold, like privileges to the towns within the royal domain, in order to create ſome power that might counterbalance their potent vaſſals, who often gave law to the crown [3]. The practice quickly ſpread over Europe; and before the end of the thirteenth century, its beneficial effects were generally felt.

THESE effects were no leſs extenſive upon government than upon manners. Self-preſervation had obliged every man, during ſeveral centuries, to court the patronage of ſome powerful baron, whoſe caſtle was the common aſylum in times of danger; but towns ſurrounded with walls, and filled with citizens trained to arms, bound by intereſt as well as the moſt ſolemn engagements to protect each other, afforded a more commodious and ſecure retreat. The nobles became of leſs importance, when they ceaſed to be the ſole guardians of the people; and the crown acquired an increaſe of power and conſequence, when it no longer depended entirely upon its great vaſſals for the ſupply of its armies. The cities contributed liberally towards the ſupport of the royal authority, as they regarded the ſovereigns as the authors of their liberty, and their protectors againſt the domineering ſpirit of the nobles. Hence another conſequence of corporation-charters.

THE inhabitants of cities having obtained perſonal freedom and municipal juriſdiction, ſoon aſpired at civil liberty and political power. And the ſovereigns, in moſt kingdoms, found it neceſſary to admit them to a ſhare in the legiſlature, on account of their utility in raiſing the ſupplies for government; it being a fundamental principle in the feudal policy, that no free man could be taxed but with his own conſent.

3. Du Cange, voc. *Communia.*

The

The citizens were now free; and the wealth, the power, and the confequence which they acquired on recovering their liberty, added weight to their claim to political eminence, and feemed to mark them out as an effential branch in the conftitution. They had it much in their power to fupply the exigencies of the crown, and alfo to reprefs the encroachments of the nobles. In England, Germany, and even in France, where the voice of liberty is heard no more, the reprefentatives of communities accordingly obtained, by different means, a place in the national council, as early as the beginning of the fourteenth century[4].

THUS, my dear Philip, an intermediate power was eftablifhed between the king and nobles, to which each had recourfe alternately, and which fometimes oppofed the one and fometimes the other. It tempered the rigour of ariftocratical oppreffion with a mixture of popular liberty, at the fame time that it reftrained the ufurpations of the crown: it fecured to the great body of the people, who had formerly no reprefentatives, active and powerful guardians of their rights and liberties; and it entirely changed the fpirit of the laws, by introducing into the ftatutes, and the jurifprudence of the European nations, ideas of equality, order, and public good.

To this new power that part of the people ftill in fervitude, the villains, who refided in the country, and were employed in agriculture, looked up for freedom. They obtained it, though contrary to the fpirit of the feudal polity. The odious names of mafter

4. M. l'Abbé Mably, *Obfervat. fur l'Hift. de France*, tom. ii. Henault, tom. i. Meffel, *Abregé de Hift. et Droit d'Allemagne*. Brady, *Treatife of Boroughs*. Madox, *Firma Burgi*.

and

PART I. and ſlave were aboliſhed. The huſbandman became farmer of the ſame fields which he had formerly been compelled to cultivate for the benefit of another. He reaped a ſhare of the fruits of his own induſtry. New proſpects opened, new incitements were offered to ingenuity and enterprize. The activity of genius was awakened; and a numerous claſs of men, who formerly had no political exiſtence, were reſtored to ſociety, and augmented the force and riches of the ſtate.

THE ſecond great advance which ſociety made during the period under review, was an approach towards a more regular adminiſtration of juſtice. The barbarous nations who over-ran the Roman empire, and ſettled in its provinces, rejected the Roman juriſprudence, as I have had occaſion to obſerve, with the ſame contempt that they ſpurned the Roman arts. Both reſpected objects of which they had no conception, and were adapted to a ſtate of ſociety with which they were then unacquainted. But as civilization advanced, they became ſenſible of the imperfection of their own inſtitutions, and even of their abſurdity. The trial by ordeal and by duel was aboliſhed in moſt countries before the end of the thirteenth century, and various attempts were made to reſtrain the practice of private war; one of the greateſt abuſes in the feudal polity, and which ſtruck at the foundation of all government.

As the authority of the civil magiſtrate was found ineffectual to remedy this evil, the church interpoſed; and various regulations were publiſhed, in order to ſet bounds to private hoſtilities. But theſe all proving inſufficient, ſupernatural means were employed: a letter was ſent from heaven to a biſhop of Aquitaine, enjoining

joining men to ceaſe from violence, and be reconciled to each other. This revelation was publiſhed during a ſeaſon of public calamity, when men were willing to perform any thing, in order to avert the wrath of an offended God. A general reconciliation took place: and a reſolution was formed, That no man ſhould, in times to come, attack or moleſt his adverſaries during the ſeaſons ſet apart for celebrating the great feſtivals of the church, or from the evening of Thurſday in each week, to the morning of Monday in the week enſuing; the intervening days being conſidered as particularly holy, Chriſt's paſſion having happened on one of thoſe days, and his reſurrection on another. This ceſſation from hoſtilities was called "The Truce of God;" and three complete days, in every week, allowed ſuch a conſiderable ſpace for the paſſions of the antagoniſts to cool, and for the people to enjoy a reſpite from the calamities of war, as well as to take meaſures for their own ſecurity, that if the Truce of God had been exactly obſerved, it muſt have gone far towards putting an end to private wars. That however was not the caſe; the nobles proſecuted their quarrels as formerly, till towards the end of the twelfth century, when a carpenter of Guienne gave out, that Jeſus Chriſt, together with the Bleſſed Virgin, had appeared to him, and having commanded him to exhort mankind to peace, had given him, as a proof of his miſſion, an image of the Virgin holding her ſon in her arms, with this inſcription: "Lamb of God, who takeſt away the "ſins of the world, give us peace!" This low fanatic was received as an inſpired meſſenger of Heaven. Many prelates and barons aſſembled at Puy, and took an oath, not only to make peace with all their own enemies, but to attack ſuch as refuſed to lay down their arms, and to be reconciled to their enemies. They formed an aſſociation for that purpoſe, and aſſumed

PART I. ſumed the honourable name of "The Brotherhood "of God." Like aſſociations were formed in other countries; and theſe, together with civil prohibitions, enforced by royal power, contributed to remove this pernicious evil [5].

WHEN ſociety was thus emerging from barbariſm, and men were become ſenſible of the neceſſity of order, a copy of Juſtinian's Pandects was diſcovered at Amalphi, in Italy; and although the age had ſtill too little taſte to reliſh the beauty of the Roman claſſics, it immediately perceived the merit of a ſyſtem of laws, in which all the points moſt intereſting to mankind, were ſettled with preciſion, diſcernment, and equity. All men of letters were ſtruck with admiration at the wiſdom of the ancients: the Juſtinian code was ſtudied with eagerneſs; and profeſſors of civil law were appointed, who taught this new ſcience in moſt countries of Europe.

THE effects of ſtudying and imitating ſo perfect a model, were, as might be expected, great. Fixed and general laws were eſtabliſhed; the principles and the forms by which judges ſhould regulate their deciſions were aſcertained; the feudal law was reduced into a regular ſyſtem; the canon law was methodiſed; the looſe uncertain cuſtoms of different provinces or kingdoms were collected and arranged with order and accuracy. And theſe improvements in the ſyſtem of juriſprudence had an extenſive influence upon ſociety. They gave riſe to a diſtinction of profeſſions.

AMONG rude nations no profeſſion is honourable but that of arms; and, as the functions of peace are

5. Du Cange, *Gloſſ.* voc. Treuga. Du Mont, *Corps Diplomatique*, tom. i. Robertſon's Introd. *Hiſt. Charles V.* ſect. i. Hume, *Hiſt. England*, Append. i.

few

few and ſimple, war is the only ſtudy. Such had been the ſtate of Europe during ſeveral centuries. But when law became a ſcience, the knowledge of which required a regular courſe of ſtudies, together with long attention to the practice of courts, a new order of men naturally acquired conſideration and influence in ſociety. Another profeſſion beſide that of arms was introduced, and reputed honourable among the laity: the talents requiſite for diſcharging it were cultivated; the arts and virtues of peace were placed in their proper rank; and the people of Europe became accuſtomed to ſee men riſe to eminence by civil as well as military employments [6].

The ſtudy of the Roman law had alſo a conſiderble influence upon letters. The knowledge of a variety of ſciences became neceſſary, in order to expound with judgment the civil code; and the ſame paſſion which made men proſecute the juridical ſcience with ſo much ardour, made them anxious to excel in every branch of literature. Colleges and univerſities were founded, a regular courſe of ſtudies was planned, and a regular ſet of profeſſors eſtabliſhed. Privileges of great value were conferred upon maſters and ſcholars; academical titles and honours were invented, as rewards for the different degrees of literary eminence; and an incredible number of ſtudents, allured by theſe advantages, reſorted to the new ſeats of learning [7].

But a falſe taſte unhappily infected all thoſe ſeminaries, which is thus ingeniouſly accounted for by a learned and inquiſitive writer:—Moſt of the perſons who attempted to revive literature in the twelfth and

6. Monteſquieu, *l'Eſprit des Loix*, liv. xxviii. Hume, *Hiſt. England*, chap. xxiii. Robertſon, *Introd. Hiſt. Charles V.* ſect. i. 7. Id. Ibid.

thir-

PART I. thirteenth centuries had received inſtruction, and derived their principles of ſcience, from the Greeks in the Eaſtern empire, or the Arabs in Spain and Africa. Both thoſe people, acute and inquiſitive to exceſs, corrupted the ſciences which they cultivated. The Greeks rendered theology a ſyſtem of ſpeculative refinement, or endleſs controverſy; and the Arabs communicated to philoſophy a ſpirit of metaphyſical and frivolous ſubtlety. Miſled by theſe guides, the perſons who firſt applied to ſcience were involved in a maze of intricate inquiries. Inſtead of allowing their fancy to take its natural range, and produce ſuch works of elegant invention as might have improved the taſte, and refined the ſentiments of the age; inſtead of cultivating thoſe arts which embelliſh human life, and render it delightful, they ſpent the whole force of their genius in ſpeculations as unavailing as they were difficult [8].

But fruitleſs and ill-directed as theſe ſpeculations were, their novelty rouſed, and their boldneſs engaged the human mind; and although ſcience was further circumſcribed in its influence, and prevented during ſeveral ages from diffuſing itſelf through ſociety, by being delivered in the Latin tongue, its progreſs deſerves to be mentioned, as one of the great cauſes which contributed to introduce a change of manners into Modern Europe. That ardent, though miſtaken ſpirit of inquiry which prevailed, put ingenuity and invention in motion, and gave them vigour: it led men to a new employment of their faculties, which they found to be agreeable as well as intereſting; it accuſtomed them to exerciſes and occupations, that tended to ſoften their manners, and to give them

8. Robertſon, ubi ſup.

ſome

ſome reliſh for thoſe gentle virtues, which are peculiar to nations among whom ſcience has been ſucceſsfully cultivated. LETTER XXXV.

Some ages indeed elapſed before taſte, order, and politeneſs were reſtored to ſociety: but anarchy and barbariſm gradually diſappeared with ignorance; the evils of life, with its crimes; and public and private happineſs grew daily better underſtood; until Europe (wiſely governed!) came to enjoy all thoſe advantages, pleaſures, amuſements, and tender ſympathies, which are neceſſary to alleviate the pains inſeparable from exiſtence, and ſoothe ſorrows allied to humanity.

LETTER XXXVI.

ENGLAND *during the Reign of* EDWARD I. *with an Introduction to the Hiſtory of* SCOTLAND; *ſome Account of the Conqueſt of that Country by the* ENGLISH, *and the final Reduction of* WALES.

THE reign of Edward I. my dear Philip, as already obſerved, forms a new æra in the hiſtory of Britain. I muſt now make you ſenſible what entitles it to that diſtinction. LETTER XXXVI.

As ſoon as Edward returned to England (where his authority was firmly eſtabliſhed, by his high character both at home and abroad), he applied himſelf aſſiduouſly to the correcting of thoſe diſorders, which the civil commotions, and the looſe adminiſtration of his father, had introduced into every part of government. His policy, though ſevere, was equally liberal and prudent. By an exact diſtribution of juſ- A.D. 1274.

 tice,

PART I. tice, and a rigid execution of the laws, he gave at once protection to the inferior orders of the state, and diminished the arbitrary power of the nobles. He made it a rule in his own conduct to observe, except upon extraordinary occasions, the privileges secured to the barons by the Great Charter, and he insisted on their observance of the same charter towards their vassals; he made the crown be regarded as the grand fountain of justice, and the general asylum against violence and oppression. By these wise measures, the state of the kingdom was soon wholly changed; order and tranquillity were restored to society, and vigour to government [1].

Now it was, that the enterprising spirit of Edward began more remarkably to shew itself. He undertook A.D. 1276. an expedition against Lewellyn prince of Wales, who had formerly joined the rebellious barons, and whose two brothers, David and Roderic, had fled to Edward for protection; craving his assistance to recover their possessions, and seconding his attempts to enslave their native country.

The Welch prince had no resource against the superior force of Edward but the inaccessible situation of his mountains, which had hitherto protected his forefathers against all the attempts of the Saxon and Norman conquerors. He accordingly retired with the bravest of his subjects among the hills of Snowdon. But Edward, no less vigorous than cautious, pierced into the heart of the country, and approached the Welch army in its last retreat. Having carefully secured every pass behind him, he avoided putting to trial the valour of a nation proud of its ancient independency. He trusted to the more slow but sure effects

1. M. West. T. Walsingham.

of

LETTER XXXVI.

A. D. 1277.

of famine for ſucceſs; and Lewellyn was at length obliged to ſubmit, and receive the terms impoſed upon him by the Engliſh monarch [2].

THESE terms, though ſufficiently ſevere, were but ill obſerved by the victors. The Engliſh oppreſſed and inſulted the inhabitants of the diſtricts which were yielded to them. The indignation of the Welch was rouſed: they flew to arms; and Edward again entered Wales with an army, not diſpleaſed with the occaſion of making his conqueſt final. This army he committed to the command of Roger Mortimer, while he himſelf waited the event in the caſtle of Rudhlan; and Lewellyn, having ventured to leave his faſtneſſes, was defeated by Mortimer, and ſlain, together with two thouſand of his followers. All the Welch nobility ſubmitted to Edward, and the laws of England were eſtabliſhed in that principality [3]. A. D. 1283.

IN order to preſerve his conqueſt, Edward had recourſe to a barbarous policy. He ordered David, brother to Lewellyn, and his ſucceſſor in the principality of Wales, to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, as a traitor, for taking arms in defence of his native country, which he had once unhappily deſerted, and for maintaining by force his own hereditary authority. He alſo ordered all the Welch bards to be collected together and put to death; from a belief, and no abſurd one, that he ſhould more eaſily ſubdue the independent ſpirit of the people, when their minds ceaſed to be rouſed by the ideas of military valour and ancient glory, preſerved in the traditional poems of theſe minſtrels, and recited or ſung by them on all public occaſions and days of feſtivity [4]. A.D. 1284.

2. T. Wykes. *Waverl.* Powell, *Hiſt. Wales.*

3. T. Walſingham. T. Wykes. *Annal.*

4. Sir J. Wynne.

PART I. A.D. 1284.

EDWARD's conduct, in regard to Scotland, at which his ambition now pointed, is little more excusable. But several things must be premised, my dear Philip, before I proceed to his transactions with that country.

ON the final departure of the Romans from this island, you have seen the Scots and Picts, its northern inhabitants, ravaging South Britain. They were repelled, but not subdued by the Saxons; and the first Norman princes were too much occupied with the affairs of the continent to push their conquests beyond the Tweed. Meanwhile fierce and bloody wars were, during several ages, carried on between the Scots and Picts; and Kenneth II. the sixty-ninth Scottish king, according to tradition, had obtained, in 838, a complete victory over the Picts, and united into one monarchy the whole country at present known by the name of North Britain. The Scots thenceforth became more formidable; and having less business on their hands at home, were always ready to join the English malcontents, and made frequent incursions into the bordering counties. In one of these incursions, as I have had occasion to notice, William king of Scotland was taken prisoner; and Henry II. as the price of his liberty, not only extorted from him an exorbitant ransom, and a promise to surrender the places of greatest strength in his dominions, but compelled him to do homage for his whole kingdom. Richard I. a more generous but less politic prince than his father, solemnly renounced his claim of homage, and absolved William from the other hard conditions which Henry had imposed. The crown of Scotland was therefore again rendered independent, and the northern potentate only did homage for the fiefs which he enjoyed in England, (a circumstance which has occasioned

casioned many mistakes, and much dispute among historians) in the same manner as the king of England himself swore fealty to the French monarch, for the fiefs which he inherited in France. But on the death of Alexander III. near a century after the captivity of William, Edward I. availing himself of the situation of affairs in Scotland, revived the claim of sovereignty which had been renounced by Richard[5]. LETTER XXXVI. A.D. 1286.

THIS is the real state of the controversy concerning the independency of Scotland, which took its rise about this time, and in the following manner. As Alexander left no male issue, nor any descendant except Margaret of Norway, his grand-daughter, who did not long survive him, the right of succession belonged to the descendants of David, earl of Huntingdon, third son of king David I. Of that line, two illustrious competitors for the crown appeared: Robert Bruce, son of Isabel, earl David's second daughter; and John Baliol, grandson of Margaret, the eldest daughter. According to the rules of succession now established, Baliol's right was preferable: he would succeed as the representative of his mother and grandmother; and Bruce's plea of being one degree nearer the common stock, would be disregarded. But in that age the question appeared no less intricate than important: the sentiments of men were divided: each claim was supported by a powerful faction; and arms alone, it was feared, must terminate a dispute too weighty for the laws to decide.

IN this critical situation the parliament of Scotland, in order to avoid the miseries of civil war, embraced the dangerous resolution of appealing to Edward I.

5. Buchanan, *Hist. Scot.* lib. viii. Robertson, book i.

 He

PART I. A.D. 1286. He was accordingly choſen umpire, and both parties agreed to acquieſce in his decree. Now it was that this ambitious and enterpriſing prince, already maſter of Wales, reſolved more determinedly to make himſelf lord of the whole iſland of Britain, by reviving his obſcure claim of feudal ſuperiority over Scotland. Under pretence of examining the queſtion with the utmoſt ſolemnity, he ſummoned all the Scot-
A.D. 1291. tiſh barons to attend him in the caſtle of Norham, a place ſituated on the ſouthern bank of the Tweed; and having gained ſome, and intimidated others, he prevailed on all who were preſent, not excepting Bruce and Baliol, the two competitors for the ſucceſſion, to acknowledge Scotland a fief of the Engliſh crown, and ſwear fealty to him as their ſovereign or liege lord [6].

THIS ſtep led to another ſtill more important. As it was in vain to pronounce a ſentence which he had not power to execute, Edward demanded poſſeſſion of the diſputed kingdom, that he might be able to deliver it to him whoſe right ſhould be found preferable: and that exorbitant demand was complied with both by the barons and the claimants. He ſoon after
A.D. 1292. gave judgment in favour of Baliol, as being the leaſt formidable of the competitors, we are told, by a reſpectable hiſtorian [7]; but in juſtice to Edward, I am bound to ſay, that his award, which was no leſs equitable than ſolemn, ſeemed to proceed merely from the ſtate of the queſtion. He not only referred it to the conſideration of an hundred and forty commiſſioners, partly Engliſh and partly Scotch, but propoſed it to all the celebrated lawyers in Europe, who returned an uniform anſwer conformable to the king's

6. Rymer, vol. ii. W. Heming, vol. i. 7. Robertſon, *Hiſt. Scotland*, book i.

decree. Baliol renewed the oath of fealty to England, and was put in poſſeſſion of the kingdom[8]. LETTER XXXVI. A. D. 1292.

EDWARD having thus eſtabliſhed his unjuſt claim of feudal ſuperiority over Scotland, aſpired next at the abſolute ſovereignty and dominion of that kingdom. He attempted to provoke Baliol by indignities; to rouſe him to rebellion, and to rob him of his crown, as the puniſhment of his pretended treaſon and felony. The paſſive ſpirit of Baliol accordingly began to mutiny; and he entered into a ſecret alliance with France, which was already engaged in a war with England, the more effectually to maintain his independency. A. D. 1295.

THE expences attending theſe multiplied wars of Edward, and his new preparations for reducing Scotland, obliged him to have frequent recourſe to parliamentary ſupplies, and introduced the lower orders of the ſtate into the public councils. This period therefore, the twenty-third year of his reign, ſeems to be the true æra of the Houſe of Commons: for the former precedent of repreſentatives from the boroughs, ſummoned by the earl of Leiceſter, was regarded as the act of a violent uſurpation, and had been diſcontinued in all the ſubſequent parliaments. But when the multiplied neceſſities of the crown produced a greater demand for money, than could be conveniently anſwered by the common mode of taxation, Edward became ſenſible, that the moſt expeditious way of obtaining ſupplies was to aſſemble the deputies of all the boroughs; to lay before them the exigencies of the ſtate; to diſcuſs the matter in their preſence, and to require their conſent to the demands of their ſovereign. He therefore iſſued writs to the ſheriffs,

8. Rymer, vol. ii. W. Heming, vol. i.

enjoining

PART I. A.D. 1295.

enjoining them to ſend to parliament, along with two knights of the ſhire, two deputies from each borough within their county, provided with ſufficient powers from their community, to conſent to what levies ſhould ſeem neceſſary for the ſupport of government. "As it is a moſt equitable rule," ſays he, in his preamble to this writ, "that what concerns all ſhould be "approved of by all; and common dangers be re-"pelled by united efforts[9]." Such a way of thinking implies a generoſity of mind much ſuperior to what might be expected from Edward's general conduct.

THE aldermen and common-council, after the election of theſe deputies, gave ſurety for their attendance before the king and parliament; and their charges were borne by the borough that ſent them[10]. How different in that, as well as in other reſpects, from our more modern repreſentatives!—Inſtead of checking and controlling the authority of the king, they were naturally induced to adhere to him, as the great fountain of juſtice, and to ſupport him againſt the power of the nobles, who at once oppreſſed them, and diſturbed him in the execution of the laws. The king, in his turn, gave countenance to an order of men ſo uſeful, and ſo little dangerous. The peers alſo were obliged to pay them ſome reſpect, on account of their conſequence as a body. By theſe means the commons, or third eſtate, long ſo abject in England, as well as in all other European nations, roſe gradually to their preſent importance; and, in their progreſs, made arts and commerce, the neceſſary attendants on liberty and equality, flouriſh in Britain.

EDWARD employed the ſupplies granted by his people in warlike preparations againſt his northern

9. Brady. *Treatiſe of Boroughs*, from the Records. *Reliquiæ* Spelm.

10. Id. ibid.

neighbour.

A. D. 1296.

neighbour. He cited Baliol, as his vaſſal, to appear in an Engliſh parliament, to be held at Newcaſtle. But that prince, having now received pope Celeſtine's diſpenſation from his oath of fealty, renounced the homage which had been done to England, and ſet Edward at defiance. This bravado was but ill ſupported by the military operations of the Scots. Edward croſſed the Tweed without oppoſition, at the head of thirty thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe. Berwick was taken by aſſault; the Scottiſh army was totally routed near Dunbar; the whole ſouthern part of the kingdom was ſubdued; and the timid Baliol, diſcontented with his own ſubjects, and over-awed by the Engliſh, inſtead of making uſe of theſe reſources which were yet left, haſtened to make his ſubmiſſions to the conqueror. He expreſſed the deepeſt penitence for his diſloyalty to his liege lord; and he made a ſolemn and irrevocable renunciation of his crown into the hands of Edward [11].

The Engliſh monarch marched as far north as Aberdeen and Elgin, without meeting a ſingle enemy. No Scotſman approached him, but to pay him ſubmiſſion and do him homage. Even the turbulent Highlanders, ever refractory to their own princes, and averſe againſt the reſtraints of law, endeavoured by a timely obedience to prevent the devaſtation of their country: and Edward, flattering himſelf that he had now attained the great object of his wiſhes, in the final reduction of Scotland, left earl Warrenne governor of the kingdom, and returned with his victorious army into England [12].

Here a few particulars are neceſſary. There was a ſtone, to which the popular ſuperſtition of the Scots

11. Rymer, vol. ii. Heming, vol i. Trivet. *Annal.*
12. Id. ibid.

paid

PART I.
A.D. 1290.

paid the higheſt veneration. All their kings were ſeated on it when they received the rite of inauguration. Ancient tradition aſſured them, that their nation ſhould always govern where this ſtone was placed; and it was carefully preſerved at Scone, as the true palladium of their monarch, and their ultimate reſource under all misfortunes. Edward got poſſeſſion of it, and carried it with him into England. He alſo gave orders to deſtroy all the records, and all thoſe monuments of antiquity which might preſerve the memory of the independency of the kingdom of Scotland, and refute the Engliſh claims of ſuperiority. The great-ſeal of Baliol was broken, and that prince himſelf was carried priſoner to London, and committed to cloſe cuſtody in the Tower[13]. Two years after he was reſtored to liberty, and ſubmitted to a voluntary baniſhment in France; where, without making any farther attempt for the recovery of his royalty, he died in a private ſtation.

EDWARD was not ſo ſucceſsful in an effort which he made for the recovery of Guienne. The French monarch, Philip IV. ſurnamed the Fair, had robbed England of this province, by an artifice ſimilar to that which Edward had practiſed againſt the Scots. He had cited the Engliſh monarch, as his vaſſal, to anſwer, in the court of peers, the charge of treaſon againſt his ſovereign; for having permitted his ſubjects to ſeize ſome Norman veſſels, and denied ſatisfaction: and Edward refuſing to comply, was declared guilty of treaſon, and the duchy of Guienne confiſcated. An Engliſh army was ſent over to recover it under the earl of Lancaſter, who died in a ſhort time; and the earl of Lincoln, who ſucceeded him in the command, failed in the attempt. But the active and ambitious ſpirit of Edward could not reſt

13. W. Heming. T. Walſingham.

ſatisfied

LETTER XXXVI. A.D. 1296.

fatisfied fo long as the ancient patrimony of his family remained in the hands of his rival. He therefore entered into an alliance with the earls of Holland and Flanders[14]; and hoped, that when he fhould enter the frontiers of France at the head of his Englifh, Flemifh, and Dutch armies, the French king would purchafe peace by the reftitution of Guienne.

BUT in order to fet this vaft machine in motion, confiderable fupplies were neceffary from parliament; and thefe Edward readily obtained both from the lords and commons. He was not fo fortunate in his impofitions on the clergy, whom he always hated, and from whom he demanded a fifth of all their moveables, as a punifhment for their adherence to the Mountfort faction. They urged the pope's bull in oppofition to all fuch demands; and Edward, inftead of applying to Boniface VIII. then pontiff, for a relaxation of his mandate, boldly told the ecclefiaftics, That fince they refufed to fupport the civil government, they were unworthy to receive any benefit from it, and he would accordingly put them out of the protection of the laws.

THIS vigorous meafure was immediately carried into execution. Orders were iffued to the judges to receive no caufe brought before them by the clergy; to hear and decide all caufes in which they were defendants; to do every one juftice againft them, but to do them juftice againft nobody. The ecclefiaftics foon found themfelves in the moft miferable fituation imaginable. They could not remain always in their own houfes or convents for want of fubfiftence: if they went abroad in queft of neceffaries, they were robbed and abufed by every ruffian, and no redrefs

14. Rymer, vol. ii. Heming. vol. i.

could

PART I. A.D. 1296. could be obtained by them for the moſt violent injury. The ſpirit of the clergy was at laſt broken by this harſh treatment. They all either publicly or privately complied with the king's demands, and received the protection of the laws[15]. Not one eccleſiaſtic, as the ſagacious Hume remarks, ſeemed willing to ſuffer, for the ſake of religious privileges, this new ſpecies of martyrdom, the moſt tedious and languiſhing of any; the moſt mortifying to ſpiritual pride, and not rewarded by that crown of glory, which the church holds up with ſuch oſtentation to her faithful ſons.

But all theſe ſupplies were not ſufficient for the king's neceſſities. He was obliged to exert his arbitrary power, and lay an oppreſſive hand on every order of men in the kingdom. The people murmured, and the barons mutinied, notwithſtanding their great perſonal regard for Edward. He was obliged to make conceſſions; to promiſe all his ſubjects a compenſation for the loſſes they had ſuſtained, and to confirm the Great Charter, with an additional clauſe, in order to ſecure the nation for ever againſt all impoſitions and taxes without conſent of parliament[16]. Theſe conceſſions, my dear Philip, our anceſtors had the honour of extorting, by their boldneſs and perſeverance, from the ableſt, the moſt warlike, and the moſt ambitious monarch that ever ſat upon the throne of England. The validity of the Great Charter was never afterwards formally diſputed.

A.D. 1297.

Such a number of domeſtic diſcontents obſtructed the king's embarkation for Flanders; ſo that he loſt the proper ſeaſon for action, and after his arrival made no great progreſs againſt the enemy. The French monarch, however, propoſed a ceſſation of arms;

15. W. Heming. vol. i. *Chron. Dunſt.* vol. ii. 16. T. Walſingham. W. Hemingford.

and peace was ſoon after brought about by the mediation of the pope, in conſequence of which Guienne was reſtored to England.

LETTER XXXVI.

A.D. 1297.

In the mean time the Scots rebelled. Earl Warrenne having returned to England, on account of his ill ſtate of health, had left the adminiſtration entirely in the hands of Ormſby and Creſſingham, the officers next in rank; who, inſtead of acting with that prudence and moderation neceſſary to reconcile the Scottiſh nation to a yoke which they bore with ſuch extreme reluctance, exaſperated every man of ſpirit by the rigour and ſeverity of their government. Among theſe William Wallace, whoſe heroic exploits are worthy of juſt panegyric, but to whom the fond admiration of the Scots has aſcribed many fabulous acts of prowefs, undertook and accompliſhed the deſperate project of delivering his native country from the dominion of foreigners. He had been provoked by the inſolence of an Engliſh officer to put him to death; and finding himſelf on that account obnoxious to the conquerors, he fled into the woods, and offered himſelf as a leader to all whom the oppreſſions of the Engliſh governors had reduced to the like neceſſity. He was of a gigantic ſtature, and endowed with wonderful ſtrength of body; with invincible fortitude of mind; with diſintereſted magnanimity; with incredible patience, and ability to bear hunger, fatigue, and all the ſeverities of the ſeaſons: ſo that he ſoon acquired, among his deſperate aſſociates, that authority to which his virtues ſo eminently entitled him. Every day brought accounts of his gallant actions, which were received with no leſs favour by his countrymen, than terror by the enemy. All men who thirſted after military fame were deſirous to partake of his renown: his ſucceſsful valour

ſeemed

PART I. A. D. 1297. ſeemed to vindicate the nation from the ignominy under which it had fallen by its tame ſubmiſſion to the Engliſh; and although no nobleman of note ventured yet to join the party of Wallace, he had gained a general confidence and attachment, which birth and fortune alone are not able to confer.

So many fortunate enterprizes brought the valour of the Scottiſh chieftain's followers to correſpond with his own: and he determined to ſtrike a deciſive blow againſt the Engliſh government. Ormſby appriſed of this intention fled haſtily into England; and all the other officers of his nation imitated his example. Their terror added courage to the Scots, who betook themſelves to arms in every quarrer. Many of the principal barons openly countenanced Wallace's party: and the nation, ſhaking off its fetters, prepared to defend, by one united effort, that liberty which it had ſo unexpectedly recovered from the hands of its oppreſſors.

MEANWHILE Warrenne having collected an army of forty thouſand men in the North of England, in order to re-eſtabliſh his authority, ſuddenly entered Annandale, before the Scots had united their forces, or put themſelves in a poſture of defence; and many of the nobles, alarmed at the danger of their ſituation, renewed their oaths of fealty, and received a pardon for paſt offences. But Wallace, ſtill undaunted, continued obſtinate in his purpoſe. As he found himſelf unable to give battle to the enemy, he marched northwards, with an intention of prolonging the war, and of turning to his advantage the ſituation of that
Sept. 11. mountainous and barren country. Warrenne attacked him in his camp near Stirling, on the banks of the Forth, where the Engliſh army was totally routed.

Creſſingham,

Creſſingham, whoſe impatience urged this attack, was ſlain; Warrenne was obliged to retire into England, and the principal fortreſſes in Scotland ſurrendered to the conqueror [17]. LETTER XXXVI. A. D. 1297.

WALLACE was now univerſally revered as the deliverer of his country, and received from his followers the title of Regent or guardian of the kingdom, a dignity which he well deſerved. Not ſatisfied with expelling the enemy, he urged his army to march into England, and revenge all paſt injuries, by retaliating on that hoſtile nation. The Scots, who deemed every thing poſſible with ſuch a leader, joyfully attended his call. They broke into the northern counties during the winter ſeaſon, laying every thing waſte before them; and after extending their ravages on all ſides, as far as the biſhopric of Durham, returned into their own country loaded with ſpoils, and crowned with glory, under the victorious Wallace [18].

EDWARD was in Flanders, when he received intelligence of theſe events; and having already concluded a peace with France, he haſtened over to England, in aſſured hopes, not only of wiping off every diſgrace, but of recovering the important conqueſt of Scotland, which he had always conſidered as the chief glory of his reign. With this view he collected the whole military force of England, Wales, and Ireland; and, with an army of one hundred thouſand combatants, entered the devoted kingdom. Scotland was never at any time able to withſtand ſuch a force. At preſent it was without a head, and torne by inteſtine jealouſies. The elevation of Wallace was the object of envy to the nobility, who repined to ſee a private man raiſed above them by his rank, and ſtill A.D. 1298.

17. W. Heming. T. Walſingham. 18. W. Heming, vol. i.

PART I. A.D. 1298. more by his reputation. Senſible of theſe evils, Wallace reſigned his authority; and the chief command devolved upon men more eminent by birth, though leſs diſtinguiſhed by abilities, but under whom the nobles were more willing to ſerve in defence of their country. They fixed their ſtation at Falkirk, July 22. where Edward came up with them, and the whole Scottiſh army was broken, and chaſed off the field with great ſlaughter [19].

THE ſubjection of Scotland however was not yet accompliſhed. The Engliſh army, after reducing all A.D. 1299. the ſouthern provinces, was obliged to retire for want of proviſions; and the Scots, no leſs enraged at their preſent defeat than elevated by their paſt victories, ſtill maintained the conteſt for liberty. They were again victorious, and again ſubdued. Wallace alone maintained his independency amidſt the univerſal ſlavery of his countrymen. But he was at length betrayed to the Engliſh by his friend Sir John Monteith: and Edward, whoſe natural bravery and magnanimity ſhould have led him to reſpect like qualities in an enemy, ordered this illuſtrious patriot to be carried in chains to London; to be tried as a rebel and traitor, though he had never made ſubmiſſion or ſworn fealty to England, and to be executed on A.D. 1305. Tower-hill [20]. He could not think his favourite conqueſt ſecure, whilſt Wallace was alive. Hence the unworthy fate of a man, who had defended for many years, with ſignal valour and perſeverance, the liberties of his native country.

BUT the barbarous policy of Edward failed of the purpoſe to which it was directed. The cruelty and

19. T. Walſingham. T. Wykes. W. Heming. 20. M. Weſt. Geo. Buchanan.

injuſtice

LETTER XXXVI.

A.D. 1305.

injuſtice exercifed upon Wallace, inſtead of breaking the ſpirit, only rouſed more effectually the reſentment of the Scots. All the envy which, during his life-time, had attended that gallant chieftain, being now buried in his grave, he was univerſally regarded as the champion of Scotland, and equally lamented by all ranks of men. The people were every where diſpoſed to riſe againſt the Engliſh government: and a new and more fortunate leader ſoon preſented himſelf, who conducted them to liberty, to victory, and to vengeance.

A.D. 1306.

ROBERT BRUCE, ſon of that Robert, who had been one of the competitors for the crown of Scotland, had ſucceeded, in conſequence of his father's death, to all his pretenſions; and the death of John Baliol, which happened about the ſame time in France, ſeemed to open a full career to the genius and ambition of this young nobleman. He had formerly ſerved in the Engliſh army; but in a private conference held with Wallace, after the battle of Falkirk, the flame of patriotiſm was ſuddenly conveyed from the breaſt of one hero to that of another. Bruce regretted his engagements with Edward, and ſecretly determined to ſeize the firſt opportunity of reſcuing from ſlavery his oppreſſed country. The time of deliverance ſeemed now come. He hoped that the Scots, without a leader, and without a king, would unanimouſly repair to his ſtandard, and ſeat him on the vacant throne. Inflamed with the ardour of youth, and buoyed up by native courage, his aſpiring ſpirit ſaw alone the glory of the enterprize, or regarded the difficulties that muſt attend it as the ſource only of greater glory. The miſeries and oppreſſions which he had beheld his countrymen ſuffer in their unequal conteſt for independency; the repeated defeats and

PART I.
A. D. 1306.

misfortunes which they had undergone in the ſtruggle, proved but ſo many incentives to bring them relief, and to lead them boiling with revenge againſt the haughty victors.

In conſequence of this reſolution, and ſome ſuſpicions that Edward was appriſed of it, Bruce ſuddenly left the Engliſh court, and arrived in a few days at Dumfries in Annandale, the chief ſeat of his family intereſt. There a number of the nobility were happily aſſembled, and among the reſt John Cummin, to whom he had formerly communicated his deſigns, and who had baſely revealed them to Edward. The noblemen were aſtoniſhed at the appearance of Bruce, and yet more when he told them, that he was come to live or die with them in defence of the liberties of his country; and hoped, with their aſſiſtance, to redeem the Scottiſh name from all the indignities which it had ſo long ſuffered from the tyranny of their imperious maſters. It were better, he ſaid, if Heaven ſhould ſo decree it, to periſh at once like brave men, with ſwords in their hands, than to dread long, and at laſt undergo the fate of the unfortunate Wallace [21].

The ſpirit with which this diſcourſe was delivered, the bold ſentiments which it conveyed, the novelty of Bruce's declaration, aſſiſted by the graces of his youth and manly deportment, made deep impreſſion on the minds of the nobles, and rouſed all thoſe principles of indignation and revenge, with which they had long been ſecretly actuated. They declared their unanimous reſolution to uſe the utmoſt efforts in delivering their country from bondage, and to ſecond the courage of Bruce, in aſſerting his and their undoubted rights

21. Ibid.

againſt

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A.D. 1306.

againſt their common oppreſſors. Cummin alone, who had privately taken his meaſures with Edward, oppoſed the general determination, by repreſenting the great power of the Engliſh nation; and Bruce, already informed of his treachery, followed him out of the aſſembly, and running him through the body, left him for dead. Sir Thomas Kirkpatrick, one of Bruce's friends, aſked him on his return, if the traitor was ſlain. "I believe ſo," replied Bruce: "And "is that a matter," cried Kirkpatrick, "to be left "to conjecture—I will ſecure him." He accordingly drew his dagger, ran to Cummin, and ſtabbed him to the heart [22].

THIS deed of Bruce and his aſſociates, my dear Philip, which contain circumſtances juſtly condemned by our preſent manners, was regarded in that age as an effort of manly vigour and juſt policy. Hence the family of Kirkpatrick took for the creſt of their arms a hand with a bloody dagger; and as a motto the words employed by their anceſtor, when he executed that violent action: "I will ſecure him!"

THE murder of Cummin affixed the ſeal to the conſpiracy of the Scottiſh nobles. They had now no reſource left, but to ſhake off the yoke of England or periſh in the attempt. The genius of the nation rouſed itſelf from its long dejection; and Bruce, flying to different quarters, excited his partizans every where to arms. He ſucceſsfully attacked the diſperſed bodies of the Engliſh; got poſſeſſion of many caſtles; and having made his authority be acknowledged in moſt parts of the kingdom, was ſolemnly crowned at Scone, by the biſhop of St. Andrew's, who had zealouſly

22. W. Heming. M. Weſt. T. Walſingham. G. Buchanan, lib. viii.

PART I. A.D. 1306. embraced his cauſe. The Engliſh were again driven out of the kingdom, except ſuch as took ſhelter in the fortreſſes ſtill in their hands; and Edward found that the Scots, already twice conquered by his valour, were yet to ſubdue.

CONSCIOUS however of his ſuperior power, as well as ſuperior ſkill in arms, this great monarch made light of his antagoniſt: he thought of nothing but victory and vengeance. He ſent a body of troops into Scotland under Aymar de Valence, his general; who falling unexpectedly upon Bruce, threw his army into diſorder, and obliged him to take ſhelter in the Weſtern Iſles. Edward himſelf was advancing with a mighty force, determined to make the now defenceleſs Scots the victims of his ſeverity, when he unexpectedly A.D. 1307. ſickened and died at Carliſle; enjoining with his lateſt breath his ſon and ſucceſſor to proſecute the war, and never to deſiſt till he had finally ſubdued the kingdom of Scotland[23]. But that, as we ſhall afterwards have occaſion to ſee, the ſecond Edward was little able to accompliſh.

THE character of Edward I. as a warrior and politician, has already been ſufficiently delineated. I ſhall therefore forbear touching again on thoſe particulars, and conclude this letter with his merit as a legiſlator, which has juſtly obtained him the honourable appellation of the Engliſh Juſtinian. The numerous ſtatutes paſſed during his reign ſettle the chief points of juriſprudence; and, as Sir Edward Coke obſerves, truly deſerve the name of eſtabliſhments, becauſe they have been more conſtant, ſtanding, and durable laws, than any made ſince. The regular order maintained in his adminiſtration, alſo gave the Common

23. T. Walſingham. Trivet, *Annal.* 1307.

Law

LETTER XXXVI.

A.D. 1307.

Law an opportunity to refine itſelf; brought the judges to a certainty in their determinations, and the lawyers to preciſion in their pleadings. He regulated the juriſdiction of the ſeveral courts; eſtabliſhed the office of juſtice of peace, completed the diviſion of the court of Exchequer into four diſtinct courts, each of which managed its ſeparate branch, without dependence upon any one magiſtrate; and as the lawyers afterwards invented a method of carrying buſineſs from one court to another, the ſeveral courts became rivals and checks on each other, a circumſtance which tended very much to improve the practice of the law in this country [24]. But although Edward took ſo much care that his ſubjects ſhould do juſtice to each other, we cannot aſcribe it to his love of equity; for in all his tranſactions either with them or with his neighbours, he always deſired to have his own hands free:—and his violences upon both were not few.

24. Hale, *Hiſt. of Engliſh Law.*

LETTER XXXVII.

ENGLAND *during the Reign of* EDWARD II. *with an Account of the Affairs of* SCOTLAND.

A.D. 1307. THE critical ſituation of affairs between England and Scotland at the death of Edward I. makes it neceſſary, my dear Philip, to carry farther the hiſtory of our own iſland, before we return to the tranſactions on the continent.

No prince ever aſcended the Engliſh throne with more advantages than Edward II. He was in the twenty-third year of his age, and univerſally beloved by the people, both on account of the ſweetneſs of his own diſpoſition, and as the ſon and ſucceſſor of their illuſtrious monarch. He was at the head of a great army, ready to ſubject the whole iſland to his ſway; and all men promiſed themſelves tranquillity and happineſs under his government. But the firſt act of his reign blaſted all theſe hopes, and ſhewed him totally unqualified for his high ſtation. Inſtead of proſecuting the conqueſt of Scotland, according to the deſire of his father, he returned into England, after a few feeble efforts, and immediately diſbanded his forces; although Robert Bruce had, before this time, emerged from his obſcurity, and was become ſufficiently formidable to make more vigorous meaſures neceſſary.

THE next ſtep taken by Edward was no leſs weak and imprudent. He recalled Piers Gaveſton, a youthful favourite, whom the late king had baniſhed the realm, on account of his aſcendancy over this prince; and whom, on his death-bed, he had made him promiſe never more to entertain. Gaveſton was the ſon of a Gaſcon knight of ſome diſtinction, and by his

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shining accomplishments had early insinuated himself into the affections of young Edward, whose heart was easily caught by appearances, and strongly disposed to friendship and confidence. He was endowed with the utmost elegance of shape and person; was noted for a fine mien and easy carriage; had distinguished himself in all warlike and genteel exercises, and was celebrated for those quick sallies of wit in which his countrymen usually excel. Little wonder that such a person was thought necessary to a gay monarch, whose foibles he was able to flatter: but a wise king will have no public favourite, and still less a foreign one. Edward experienced this danger.

Gaveston no sooner arrived at court than he was loaded with benefits, and exalted to the highest honours. The king bestowed upon him the earldom of Cornwal, which had escheated to the crown, by the death of prince Edmond, son of Richard king of the Romans. He married him to his own niece; and seemed to enjoy no pleasure in his royalty but as it served to add lustre to this object of his fond idolatry. The haughty barons, already justly dissatisfied with Edward's conduct in regard to Scotland, were enraged at the superiority of a minion whom they despised. Nor did they take any care to conceal their animosity. Meanwhile Gaveston, instead of disarming envy by the moderation and modesty of his behaviour, displayed his power and influence with the utmost ostentation. Every day multiplied his enemies; and nothing was wanting but time to cement their union, and render it fatal both to him and his master.

A. D. 1308.

This union was at length effected by Thomas earl of Lancaster, cousin-german to the king, and first prince of the blood. He put himself at the head of that party among the barons who desired the depression

PART I. A. D. 1308. ſion of this inſolent ſtranger. The confederated nobles bound themſelves by oath to expel Gaveſton: they took arms for that purpoſe, and Edward was obliged to baniſh him. But he was afterwards recalled; reinſtated in his former conſequence, and became more than ever the object of general deteſtation among the nobility, on account of his oſtentation and inſolence. A new confederacy was formed againſt him: he was again baniſhed, and again recalled by the fond deluded monarch. An univerſal revolt took place: Edward and his favourite were hunted from corner to A.D. 1312. corner; and Gaveſton at laſt fell by the hands of the public executioneer[1].

AFTER the death of Gaveſton, the king's perſon became leſs obnoxious to the people. The diſcontents of all men ſeemed to be much appeaſed: the animoſities of faction no longer prevailed; and England, it was hoped, would now be able to take vengeance on all her enemies, but eſpecially on the Scots, whoſe progreſs was become the object of general reſentment and indignation.

SOON after Edward's retreat from Scotland, Robert Bruce made himſelf maſter of the whole kingdom, except a few fortreſſes. He daily reconciled the minds of the nobility to his dominion: he enliſted under his ſtandard every bold ſpirit, and he enriched his followers with the ſpoils of the enemy. Sir James Douglas, in whom commenced the greatneſs and renown of that warlike family, ſeconded Robert in all his enterprizes. Edward Bruce, the king's brother, alſo diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his valour; and the dread of the Engliſh power being now abated by the feeble conduct of Edward, even the leaſt ſanguine of the Scots began to entertain hopes of recovering their independency.

1. T. Walſingham. T. de la More. W. Heming.

They

They obtained a truce, which was of ſhort duration, and ill obſerved on both ſides. But ſhort as it was, it ſerved to conſolidate the power of the king, and introduce order into the civil government. War was renewed with greater fury than ever. Not content with defending himſelf, Robert made ſucceſsful inroads into England; ſubſiſted his needy followers by the plunder of the country, and taught them to deſpiſe the military genius of a people, who had long been the object of their terror. A. D. 1312.

EDWARD, at length rouſed from his lethargy, had marched an army into Scotland; and Robert, determined not to riſk too much againſt a ſuperior force, had again retired into his mountains. The Engliſh monarch advanced beyond Edinburgh; but being deſtitute of proviſions, and ill ſupported by his nobility, he was obliged to return home, without gaining any advantage over the enemy. The ſeeming union, however, of all parties in England, after the death of Gaveſton, opened again the proſpect of reducing Scotland, and promiſed a happy concluſion to a war in which both the intereſts and the paſſions of the nation were ſo deeply engaged.

EDWARD aſſembled forces from all quarters, with a view of finiſhing at one blow this important enterprize. He ſummoned the moſt warlike of his vaſſals from Gaſcony: he enliſted troops from Flanders, and other foreign countries: he invited over great numbers of the diſorderly Iriſh, as to a certain prey: he joined to them a body of Welch, who were actuated by like motives: he collected the whole military force of England, and entered Scotland at the head of an army of near one hundred thouſand men. The Scottiſh army did not exceed thirty thouſand combatants; but being compoſed of men who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by many acts of valour, who were A. D. 1314.

rendered

PART I. A.D. 1314. rendered desperate by their situation, and who were inured to all the varieties of fortune, they might justly, under such a leader as Bruce, be esteemed equal to a far more numerous body. Robert, however, left as little as possible to the superior gallantry of his troops. He posted himself strongly at Bannockburn, about two miles from Stirling; the only fortress in Scotland that remained in the hands of the English, and which was on the point of surrendering. He had a rivulet in front, a hill on his right flank, and a morass on his left. In this situation he waited the approach of Edward.

THE English army arrived in sight towards evening, and a smart combat immediately ensued between two bodies of cavalry. June 14. Robert, who was at the heads of the Scots, engaged in a single combat with Henry de Bohun, a gentleman of the family of Hereford, and at one stroke cleft his antagonist to the chin with a battle-axe, in sight of the two armies. The English horse fled with precipitation to their main body, and night prevented any farther hostilities. Meanwhile the Scots, encouraged by this favourable event, and glorying in the prowess of their prince, prognosticated a happy issue to the contest of the ensuing day; and the English, confident in their numbers, and elated by past successes, longed for an opportunity of revenge. The darkness, though but of a few hours, was borne with impatience: and Edward, as soon as light appeared, drew up his forces, and advanced against the Scots. Both armies engaged with great ardour, and the dispute was fierce and bloody. Sir James Douglas had broken the English cavalry; but their line of infantry was still firm, when a stratagem decided the fortune of the field. Bruce had collected a number of waggoners and sumpter boys, and furnished them with standards. They

appeared upon the heights toward the left. The Eng- LETTER XXXVII.
liſh miſtook them for a freſh army coming to ſur-
round them: a panic ſeized them; they threw down A.D. 1314.
their arms, and fled. The Scots purſued with great ſlaughter as far as Berwick; and beſides an ineſtimable booty, took many perſons of quality priſoners, with above four hundred gentlemen, whom Robert treated with great humanity, and whoſe ranſom was a new acceſſion of wealth to the victorious army. Edward himſelf narrowly eſcaped, by taking ſhelter in Dunbar, whence he paſſed by ſea to Berwick [2].

SUCH was the great and deciſive battle of Bannockburn, which ſecured the independency of Scotland; fixed Bruce on the throne of that kingdom, and may be deemed the moſt ſignal blow that the Engliſh monarchy has received ſince the Norman invaſion. The number of ſlain is not certainly known, but it muſt have been very great; for the impreſſion of this defeat in the minds of the Engliſh was ſo ſtrong, that no ſuperiority of force could encourage them to keep the field againſt the Scots for ſome years.

IN order to avail himſelf of his preſent ſucceſs, Robert entered England; ravaged all the northern counties without oppoſition; and, elated by his continued proſperity, now entertained hopes of making the moſt important conqueſts at the expence of the Engliſh.
He ſent over his brother Edward with an army of ſix A.D. 1315.
thouſand men into Ireland, and he himſelf followed ſoon after with a more numerous body of troops. But a grievous famine, which at that time deſolated both Britain and Ireland, reduced the Scottiſh army to the greateſt extremity; ſo that Robert was obliged to return,

2. Mon. Malmſ. T. de la More. T. Walſingham. Ypod. Neuſt.

PART I.
A.D. 1316.

turn, with his forces much diminiſhed, into his own country. His brother, who aſſumed the title of king of Ireland, after experiencing a variety of hardſhips, was defeated and ſlain by the Engliſh near Dundalk; and Robert became ſenſible that he had attempted projects too extenſive for the force of his narrow kingdom.

EDWARD, beſides the diſaſters which he ſuffered from the invaſion of the Scots, and the oppoſition formed againſt his government in Ireland, was haraſſed with a rebellion in Wales: and the factions of his nobility troubled him yet more than all theſe. They took advantage of the public calamities to inſult his fallen fortunes, and endeavoured to eſtabliſh their own independency on the ruins of the throne. The king's unhappy ſituation obliged him to comply with all their demands. The miniſtry was new modelled by the direction of Lancaſter, and that prince was placed at the head of the council. Edward himſelf was evidently by nature unfit to hold the reins of government. He was ſenſible of his own defects, and ſought to be governed; yet every favourite (for ſuch they were rather than miniſters) whom he ſucceſſively choſe, was regarded as a fellow-ſubject exalted above his rank and ſtation, and became the object of envy to the chief nobility. The king's principal favourite, after the death of Gaveſton, was Hugh le Deſpenſer, or Spenſer, a young man of Engliſh birth, and of a noble family. He poſſeſſed all the exterior accompliſhments of perſon and addreſs that were fitted to engage the weak mind of Edward, but was deſtitute of that moderation and prudence, which might have qualified him to mitigate the envy of the great, and conduct himſelf quietly through the perils of the dangerous ſtation to which he was advanced.

No

No ſooner was Edward's attachment declared for young Spenſer, than the turbulent Lancaſter, and moſt of the great barons, regarded him as their rival; made him the object of their animoſity, and formed violent plans for his ruin. They withdrew themſelves from parliament, betook themſelves to arms, and demanded the baniſhment of the favourite and his father. Theſe noblemen were then abſent. The father was abroad, the ſon at ſea; and both were employed in executing different commiſſions. The king therefore replied, that his coronation oath, by which he was bound to obſerve the laws, reſtrained him from giving his aſſent to ſo illegal a demand, or condemning noblemen who were accuſed of no crime, nor had any opportunity afforded them of giving anſwer. But equity and reaſon proved a feeble barrier againſt men who had arms in their hands, and who being already involved in guilt, ſaw no ſafety but in ſucceſs and victory. They entered London with their troops; and giving into the parliament, which was then ſitting, a charge againſt the Spenſers (of which they did not attempt to prove one article), they procured by menaces and violence, a ſentence of perpetual exile againſt thoſe miniſters [3]. A. D. 1321.

This act of violence, in which the king was obliged to acquieſce, rendered his perſon and authority ſo contemptible, that every one thought himſelf entitled to treat the royal family with neglect. The queen was publicly inſulted; but as that princeſs was generally beloved, Edward was permitted to take vengeance on the offender. Having now ſome forces on foot, and having concerted meaſures with his friends throughout England, he ventured to pull off the maſk;

3. Tyrrel, from the Regiſter of C. C. Canterbury. T. Walſingham. Tuttle's *Collect.* par. ii. Rymer, vol. iii.

to

PART I. A. D. 1321. to attack all his enemies, and to recall the two Spenſers, whoſe ſentence he declared illegal, unjuſt, and contrary to the tenor of the Great Charter [4].

The king had now got the ſtart of the barons; an advantage which in thoſe times was generally deciſive. It proved ſo in the preſent inſtance. Lancaſter alone made reſiſtance: he was taken priſoner, condemned by
A. D. 1322. a court martial, and led to execution. About twenty more of the moſt notorious offenders were afterwards condemned by legal trial and executed. Many were thrown into priſon; ſome made their eſcape beyond ſea; and moſt of the forfeitures were ſeized by young Spenſer, whoſe rapacity was inſatiable. The barons of the king's party were diſguſted with this partial diviſion of the ſpoils: the envy againſt the favourite roſe higher than ever. The people, who always hated him, made him ſtill more the object of their averſion: all the relations of the attainted barons vowed revenge; and although tranquillity was in appearance reſtored to the kingdom, the general contempt of the king, and odium of Spenſer, engendered future revolutions and convulſions.

In ſuch a ſituation no ſucceſs could be expected from foreign wars. Edward, therefore, after making one more fruitleſs attempt againſt Scotland, whence he retreated with diſhonour, found it neceſſary to termi-
A. D. 1323. nate hoſtilities with that kingdom by a truce of thirteen years. This truce was ſo much the more ſeaſonable for England, as the nation was at that time threatened with hoſtilities from France. Charles the Fair had ſome grounds of complaint againſt the Engliſh miniſters in Guienne, and ſeemed deſirous to take

4. Rymer, ubi ſup.

advantage of Edward's weakneſs, in order to confiſcate all his foreign dominions. LETTER XXXVII.

After an embaſſy by the earl of Kent, the king's brother, had been tried in vain, queen Iſabella obtained permiſſion to go over to Paris, and endeavour to adjuſt matters with her brother. She there found a number of Engliſh fugitives, the remains of the Lancaſtrian faction; and their common hatred of young Spenſer, ſoon begot a ſecret friendſhip and correſpondence between them and that princeſs, who envied the favourite his influence with the king. Among theſe refugees was Roger Mortimer, a potent baron in the Welſh Marches, who had been condemned for high treaſon, but had made his eſcape from the Tower. His conſequence introduced him to queen Iſabella, and the graces of his perſon and addreſs advanced him quickly in her affections. He became her confidant and counſellor in all her meaſures; and gaining ground daily upon her heart, he engaged her to ſacrifice at laſt, to her paſſion, all the ſentiments of honour and fidelity to her huſband. Hating now the man ſhe had injured, and whom ſhe never loved, ſhe entered ardently into all Mortimer's conſpiracies; and having artfully got into her hands the young prince, and heir of the monarchy, ſhe reſolved on the utter ruin of the king, as well as of his favourite. She engaged her brother to take part in the ſame criminal purpoſe: her court was daily filled with exiled barons: Mortimer lived in the moſt declared intimacy with her, and a correſpondence was ſecretly carried on with the malcontent party in England [5]. A.D. 1324.

When Edward was informed of theſe alarming circumſtances, he required the queen ſpeedily to return with the prince. But Iſabella publicly replied, that A.D. 1325.

5. T. Walſingham. T. de la More. Ypod. Neuſt.

PART I. A. D. 1325.

ſhe would never ſet foot in the kingdom, until Hugh Spenſer was for ever removed from his preſence and counſels. This declaration procured her great popularity in England, and drew a decent veil over all her treaſonable enterprizes. She no ſooner arrived with her ſon in England than the king was entirely deſerted. He fled to Wales. The elder Spenſer, now earl of Wincheſter, and governor of the caſtle of Briſtol, was delivered by the garriſon into the hands of his

A. D. 1326.

enemies; and being inſtantly condemned, without any trial, witneſs, or accuſation, to ſuffer death, he was hanged on a gibbet in his armour. His unhappy, but more criminal ſon, ſoon after ſhared the ſame fate: and the king, diſappointed in his expectations of ſuccour from the Welch, was ſeized among their mountains, where he had endeavoured to conceal himſelf, and confined in Kenilworth caſtle. Meanwhile the queen, taking advantage of the prevailing deluſion, ſummoned in Edward's name a parliament at Weſtminſter; where the king was accuſed of incapacity for government, and by the authority of her partizans

A. D. 1327.

depoſed. The prince, a youth of fourteen years of age, was placed on the throne, and the queen was appointed regent during his minority [6].

The great body of the people are ſeldom long in the wrong with reſpect to any political meaſure. Corrupted as they now were by the licentiouſneſs of the times, and inflamed by faction, they could not, in the preſent inſtance, remain inſenſible to the voice of nature. A wife had firſt diſhonoured, next invaded, and then dethroned her huſband: ſhe had made her infant ſon an inſtrument in this unnatural treatment of his father; and had, by falſe pretences, ſeduced the nation into rebellion againſt their ſovereign, whoſe weakneſs was his only crime. All theſe circumſtances

6. Ypod. Neuſt. T. Walſingham. T. de la More. Rymer, vol. iv.

were ſo odious in themſelves, and formed ſuch a complicated ſcene of guilt, that the leaſt reflection ſufficed to open men's eyes, and make them deteſt ſo flagrant an infringement of every public and private duty.

LETTER XXXVII.

A.D. 1327.

The earl of Lancaſter, formerly earl of Leiceſter, to whoſe cuſtody the dethroned monarch had been committed, was ſoon touched with ſentiments of compaſſion and generoſity towards his ſovereign; and beſide uſing him with gentleneſs and humanity, he was ſuppoſed to have entertained more honourable intentions in his favour. The king was therefore taken out of his hands, and delivered over to lord Berkeley, Mautravers, and Gournay, who were entruſted alternately, each for a month, with the charge of guarding him. While in the cuſtody of Berkeley, Edward was ſtill treated with the gentleneſs and reſpect due to his rank and his misfortunes; but when the turn of Mautravers and Gournay came, every ſpecies of indignity was offered him, as if their intention had been to break entirely the unhappy prince's ſpirit, and to employ his ſorrows and afflictions, inſtead of more violent and more dangerous means, as the inſtruments of his murder. That method of laying Edward in his grave, however, appearing too ſlow to the impatient Mortimer, he ſent orders to Gournay and Mautravers to diſpatch the king ſecretly; and theſe ruffians contrived to make the manner of his death as cruel as poſſible. Taking advantage of the indiſpoſition of Berkeley, in whoſe cuſtody he then was, but who was incapacitated by ſickneſs from attending his charge, they came to Berkeley-caſtle, and put themſelves in poſſeſſion of the king's perſon. They threw him on a bed; held him down violently with a table, which they flung over him, and thruſt into his funda-

PART I. A. D. 1327. ment a horn, through which they burnt his bowels with a red-hot iron. But although outward marks of violence were prevented by this expedient, the atrocious deed was diſcovered to all the guards and attendants by the ſcreams of the agonizing king.[7]

THUS periſhed the unfortunate Edward II. It is not eaſy for imagination to figure a man more innocent and inoffenſive, or a prince leſs fitted for governing a fierce and turbulent people. The vigour and capacity of the ſon made ample amends for his father's weakneſs. But a variety of objects muſt occupy our attention, before we conſider the reign of Edward III.

LETTER XXXVIII.

The GERMAN EMPIRE *and its Dependencies*, ROME, *and the* ITALIAN STATES, *from the Election of* RODULPH *of* HAPSBURG, *to the Death of* HENRY VII.

LETTER XXXVIII. A. D. 1273. THE German empire, my dear Philip, as I have already had occaſion to obſerve, could not properly be ſaid to have a head, from the death of Frederic II. till the election of Rodulph count of Hapſburg. This great captain, who had ſome time exerciſed the office of grand marſhal to Ottocarus king of Bohemia, and was raiſed to the imperial dignity on account of his military talents, no ſooner found himſelf in poſſeſſion of the auguſt throne, than he employed his authority in ſuppreſſing the diſorders which had pre-

7. T. Walſingham. T. de la More.

vailed

vailed during the interregnum; and he ſucceeded ſo well in his endeavours, that peace and ſecurity were ſoon generally re-eſtabliſhed in Germany. He deſtroyed in Thuringia ſixty caſtles, which were the retreats of banditti, and ordered ninety-nine highwaymen to be hanged at one time in the city of Erfurt [1]. A.D. 1273.

Having thus in ſome meaſure ſettled the interior police of the empire, Rodulph aſſembled a diet at Mentz, where he granted new privileges to Goſlar and other cities, and confirmed thoſe which had been granted by his predeceſſors. Here alſo the deliberations of the aſſembly turned upon the conduct of certain princes, who had proteſted againſt the election of the count of Hapſburg. Among theſe was Ottocarus king of Bohemia, againſt whom the diet had other cauſes of diſſatisfaction. He had ſeized upon the duchy of Auſtria, after the death of Frederic, the laſt duke; and the ſtates complained of the oppreſſions which they ſuffered under this uſurper, from whom they begged to be delivered. A.D. 1274.

A second diet was ſummoned on this ſubject at Augſburg: where Ottocarus not appearing, or doing homage by his ambaſſadors, was declared a rebel to the empire. His poſſeſſion of Auſtria, Stiria, Carniola, and Carinthia, was adjudged illegal: and the emperor was deſired to diveſt him of thoſe territories. A.D. 1275.

When this ſentence was notified to Ottocarus, he arrogantly exclaimed, "To whom ſhould I do homage?—I owe Rodulph nothing: he was formerly my ſervant! and I paid him his wages. My

1. *Annal Boior.* Heiſs, liv. ii. c. 22.

 "poſſeſſions

PART I. A.D. 1275. "possessions I will maintain with the point of my "sword [z]."

In consequence of this resolution, Ottocarus associated himself with several other German princes, and among the rest with the duke of Bavaria. But they were all at last obliged to submit; and the proud Ottocarus himself not only relinquished the contested territories, but did homage for Bohemia and Moravia.

A.D. 1276. THIS homage was performed in the island of Camberg in the Danube, under a close canopy, in order to save Ottocarus from a public humiliation. He repaired to the place, all covered with gold and jewels. Rodulph, by a superior pride, received him in the most coarse and simple dress; and in the midst of the ceremony, either by accident or design, the curtains of the canopy fell back, and exposed to the eyes of the people, and the armies that lined the banks of the river, the haughty king on his knees, with his hands joined between those of his conqueror, whom he had so often called his steward, and to whom he now became cup-bearer.

THE wife of Ottocarus, a Russian princess, and no less haughty than her husband, was so much hurt by this mortifying circumstance, that she induced him to renounce the treaty he had concluded with Rodulph, and again have recourse to arms for the recovery of Austria. The emperor immediately marched A.D. 1277. against him; and a battle ensued, in which Ottocarus was slain.

RODULPH now discovered himself to be no less a politician than a warrior. He gave the government of

z. Æn. Sylv, *Hist. Bohem.*

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A.D. 1282.

of Auſtria and its appendages to his eldeſt ſon, count Albert; whom he afterwards, in a diet at Augſburg, publicly inveſted with that duchy, which was incorporated with the college of the princes. Hence the riſe of the houſe of Auſtria. And he at the ſame time inveſted Rodulph, another of his ſons, with the county of Suabia, which belonged to him in right of his wife. He alſo wiſely reſolved to adhere to the articles of the treaty with Ottocarus; and accordingly put his infant ſon Winceſlaus under the tutelage of the marquis of Brandenburg [3].

But although Rodulph's authority was now fully eſtabliſhed in Germany, he was far from being maſter in Italy. The imperial crown had indeed been confirmed to him by Gregory X. on his ceding to the Holy See the lands of the counteſs Matilda, and all the territories mentioned in the grants made to the church by former emperors. In ſo doing, Rodulph properly yielded nothing but the right of receiving homage from noblemen, who never did it without reluctance, and cities which it was not in his power to command. Venice, Genoa, and Piſa, had a greater number of ſhips than the emperor could muſter of enſigns: Florence was become conſiderable, and already the nurſe of the liberal arts.

Rodulph ſpent the latter part of his reign in eſtabliſhing the grandeur of his family in Auſtria. He granted privileges to the clergy; beſtowed new dignities upon the noblemen; diminiſhed the taxes; built and repaired public edifices; and behaved with ſo much generoſity and moderation, as won the hearts of all men. But, notwithſtanding his popularity, he could not procure his ſon Albert, duke of Auſtria,

3. Heiſs, ubi ſup. Du Mont. *Corp. Diplom.* tom. i.

PART I. A.D. 1291. to be elected king of the Romans; a disappointment which, together with the death of his son Rodulph, so much chagrined him, that he died soon after. He was a prince of great valour, sagacity, and probity; and raised the empire, from a state of misery and confusion, to the enjoyment of peace, polity, and riches [4].

AFTER an interregnum of nine months, which was productive of many disorders, the German princes
A.D. 1292. raised to the imperial throne Adolphus of Nassau, on the same principle which had made them chuse his predecessor. He seemed capable of maintaining the glory of the empire at the head of its armies, without being able to enslave it.

THE reign of this prince was one continued scene of troubles, and at last terminated in his deposition. His necessities had made him guilty of several acts of injustice; which Albert duke of Austria, dissatisfied at not succeeding to the imperial throne, took care to represent in the worst light. A confederacy was
A.D. 1297. formed against Adolphus; and he was deposed by the archbishop of Mentz, in the name of the princes of the empire.

"SIX years ago," said the archbishop, "the empire being vacant, we canonically elected Adolphus count of Nassau king of the Romans, knowing at

4. Heiss, lib. ii. c. 22. Barre, tom. vi. *Annal. de l'Emp.* tom. ii. Nothing can shew in a stronger light Rodulph's resolution and presence of mind, than his behaviour at his coronation. The absence of the imperial sceptre, supposed to be that of Charlemagne, which had been mislaid, seemed to afford some disaffected noblemen a pretext for refusing the oath of allegiance:—"This is my sceptre!" said Rodulph, seizing a crucifix; and all the princes and nobles instantly took the oath, and did him homage as emperor. Heiss, &c. ubi sup.

LETTER XXXVIII.

A. D. 1297.

"that time no person more worthy of the dignity. "At first he conducted himself wisely, following the "counsels of the most prudent electors and princes of "his court. But he began by degrees to despise their "advice, and listen to the counsels of young persons, "without either sense or experience; then he found "himself destitute of means and friends to assist him "sincerely in bearing the burden of government. The "electors perceiving his indigence, and swayed by "many other motives, have demanded the pope's "consent to depose him, and chuse another emperor. "We are told that our envoys have obtained the con-"sent of his Holiness; though those of Adolphus af-"firm the contrary: but we, having no regard to "any authority except that which is vested in our-"selves, and finding Adolphus incapable of govern-"ing the empire, do depose him from the imperial "dignity, and elect Albert, duke of Austria, king "of the Romans[5].

Adolphus, apprised of this election, raised the siege of Ruffach, in Alsace, and marched towards Spire, were he encamped. He was reinforced by the count Palatine Rodulph, Otho duke of Bavaria, and the cities of Spire and Worms, which had never deserted his cause. Albert advanced towards him, in order to dispute the imperial crown by arms. They engaged between Gelnheim and the cloister of Rosendal, and the battle was maintained with much obstinacy on both sides. In the heat of action Adolphus, singling out his rival, attacked him hand to hand, haughtily exclaiming, "Here you shall resign to me the em-"pire and your life!"—"Both," replied Albert, "are in the hands of God;" and immediately struck

5. *Chron. Colm.*

his

PART I. A.D. 1297. his competitor with ſuch violence in the face, that he fell from his horſe, and was inſtantly ſlain [6].

DURING the reign of Adolphus, and alſo of his predeceſſor Rodulph, the Jews were perſecuted in the empire with great cruelty, on a ſuppoſition that they had ſlain ſeveral Chriſtian children, and committed other crimes, which excited the hatred of the public. They were accuſed of having ſtolen a conſecrated hoſt: and the credulous people, without examining into the matter, were ſo much incenſed at this pretended ſacrilege, that the inhabitants of Nuremberg, Rottemberg, Amberg, and ſeveral other towns of Franconia and Bavaria, ſeized all the unhappy Iſraelites that fell in their way; committed them to the flames, and drove the reſt to ſuch deſpair, that numbers choſe rather to deſtroy themſelves and families than run the hazard of falling into the hands of the merciless Chriſtians. Nor was this unhappy people treated with more indulgence in Holland and Frieſland, their preſent aſylum, at that time provinces of the empire [7].

THOUGH Albert had been elected king of the Romans before his victory over Adolphus, and conſequently became emperor on the death of that prince, he choſe to have his title confirmed by a new diet; which was accordingly aſſembled for that purpoſe at Frankfort, the elector of Triers and the Palatine not having formerly given their votes: and he was afterwards ſolemnly crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle. The concourſe of people, on that occaſion, was ſo great, that the duke of Saxony, the emperor's brother, and

A. D. 1298.

6. Ibid.

7. *Annal. Steron.* Moſheim, *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* vol. iii. Dr. Moſheim leaves it doubtful whether the accuſations againſt the Jews were true or falſe; but his learned and judicious tranſlator, in a note, gives reaſon to believe they were inſidiouſly forged.

ſeveral

ſeveral other perſons, were ſqueezed to death in the crowd [8]. LETTER XXXVIII. A. D. 1298.

THE firſt years of Albert's reign were diſquieted by a quarrel with the pope and the eccleſiaſtical electors. Boniface VIII. the laſt pontiff who pretended to diſpoſe of crowns, and who carried the pretenſions of the apoſtolic ſee as high as any of his predeceſſors, took part with the three German archbiſhops, who had refuſed to anſwer the emperor's ſummons. They were at length, however, obliged to ſubmit; and Boniface confirmed the election of Albert, when A. D. 1305. he wanted to make him the inſtrument of his vengeance againſt Philip king of France. But the emperor did not obtain this confirmation, it is ſaid, till he had declared, that "the empire was transferred by the "Holy See from the Greeks to the Germans; that "the ſovereign pontiff has granted to certain ec-"cleſiaſtical and ſecular princes the right of electing "a king of the Romans, deſtined to the empire; and "that emperors and kings derive their regal power "from the pope [9]."

THE moſt remarkable event in this reign is the riſe of the republic of Swiſſerland. Fortified by their natural ſituation, ſurrounded with mountains, torrents, and woods, the Swiſs having nothing to fear from ſtrangers, had lived happily in a rugged country, ſuited only to men who have been accuſtomed to a frugal and laborious courſe of life. Equality of condition was the baſis of their government. They had been free from time immemorial; and when any of their nobility attempted to tyrannize, they were either altogether expelled, or reduced within bounds by the people. But although the Swiſs were extreme-

8. Heiſs, liv. ii. chap, xxiv. 9. *Hiſt. de Demel. de Boniſ. VIII. avec Philip le Bel.* Moſheim, *Eccleſ. Hiſt.* vol. iii.

PART I.

ly jealous of their liberty, they had always been submissive to the empire, on which they depended; and many of their towns were free and imperial.

WHEN Rodulph of Hapsburg was elected emperor, several lords of castles formally accused the cantons of Ury, Schwitz, and Underwald, of having withdrawn themselves from their feudal subjection. But Rodulph, who had formerly fought against those petty tyrants, decided in favour of the citizens; and thenceforth these three cantons were under the patronage, but not the dominion of the house of Austria.

RODULPH always treated the Swiss with great indulgence, and generously defended their rights and privileges against the noblemen who attempted to infringe them. Albert's conduct in these respects, was just the reverse of his father's: he wanted to govern the Swiss as an absolute sovereign, and had formed a scheme for erecting their country into a principality for one of his sons. In order to accomplish this purpose, he endeavoured to persuade the cantons of Ury, Schwitz, and Underwald, to submit voluntarily to his dominion. In case of compliance, he promised to rule them with great lenity; but finding them tenacious of their independency, and deaf to all his solicitations, he resolved to tame them by rougher methods, and appointed governors, who domineered over them in the most arbitrary manner.

THE tyranny of these governors exceeded all belief. Geisler, governor of Ury, ordered his hat to be fixed upon a pole in the market-place of Altorf, and every passenger was commanded, on pain of death, to pay obeisance to it. But the independent spirit of William Tell, who among others had projected the deliverance of his country, disdained to pay that ab-

surd

ſurd homage. On this the governor ordered him to be hanged; but remitted the puniſhment, on condition that he ſhould ſtrike an apple from his ſon's head with an arrow. Tell, who was an excellent markſman, accepted the alternative, and had the good fortune to ſtrike off the apple without hurting his ſon. But Geiſler perceiving a ſecond arrow under William's coat, inquired for what purpoſe that was intended: "It was "deſigned for thee," replied the indignant Swiſs, "if I had killed my ſon." For that heroic anſwer he was doomed to perpetual impriſonment, though fortune happily put it out of the governor's power to carry his ſentence into execution.

THIS and other acts of wanton tyranny determined Arnauld Melchtat, a native of Underwald, Werner Straffacher of Schwitz, and Walter Furtz of Ury, to put in execution thoſe meaſures which they had concerted for delivering themſelves and their country from the Auſtrian dominion. Naturally bold and enterpriſing, and united by a long intimacy of friendſhip, they had frequently met in private to deliberate upon this intereſting ſubject: each aſſociated three others; and theſe twelve men accompliſhed their important enterprize, without the loſs of a ſingle life. A.D. 1308.
Having prepared the inhabitants of their ſeveral cantons for a revolt, they ſurpriſed the Auſtrian governors, and conducted them to the frontiers; obliging them to promiſe upon oath never more to ſerve againſt the Helvetian nation, then diſmiſſed them[10]; an inſtance of moderation not perhaps to be equalled in the hiſtory of mankind, of a people incenſed againſt their oppreſſors, and who had them in their power!

10. Stetler. *Annal. Helvetic.*

THUS,

PART I. A.D. 1308.

Thus, my dear Philip, these three cantons, Ury, Schwitz, and Underwald, delivered themselves from the Austrian yoke, and established that liberty which they still enjoy. The other cantons soon engaged in this confederacy, which gave birth to the republic of Swisserland. Never did any people fight longer or harder for their liberty than the Swiss. They have purchased it, as we shall have occasion to see, by above sixty battles against the Austrians; and it is to be hoped they will long preserve it, for never were the beneficial effects of liberty more remarkable than in Swisserland. The change of government seems to have produced a change in the face of the country. The rude soil, which lay neglected under cruel and tyrannical masters, now appears cultivated; the craggy rocks are covered with vines; and the wild heath, tilled by the hands of freedom, is become a fruitful plain.

When Albert was ready to hazard his forces against that courage which is inspired by the enthusiasm of new-born liberty, he fell a sacrifice to his rapacity and injustice. His own nephew John, who could not obtain from him the enjoyment of his patrimony, resolved to make sure of his revenge. This injured youth, confederating with three others, stabbed the emperor in presence of his court and army, on the banks of the river Prus, in the neighbourhood of Swisserland [11]. No sovereign was ever less regretted, though few have died more tragically. He did not want valour, or abilities; but a desire of aggrandizing his family influenced his whole conduct, and made him violate every public and private tie.

11. Rebdorf. ad ann. 1308.

THE

LETTER XXXVIII.

A.D. 1309.

The imperial throne continued vacant for ſeven months after the aſſaſſination of Albert. At length the electors aſſembled at Frankfort, and choſe Henry count of Luxembourg; who was crowned, without oppoſition, at Aix-la-Chapelle. A diet was ſoon after held at Spire; where ſentence of death was pronounced againſt prince John for the murder of his uncle, the late emperor; whoſe ſons, at the ſame time, demanded the inveſtiture of Auſtria and the other hereditary dominions of their father, which Henry intended to ſeize. They obtained their demand, on making him ſenſible, that as the houſe of Auſtria had already ſent two emperors out of the world, it might yet prove fatal to a third, if he did not deſiſt from his unjuſt pretenſions[12].

At this aſſembly alſo appeared Elizabeth, daughter and heireſs of Winceſlaus king of Bohemia. She had been contracted to John, count of Luxemburg, ſon of the preſent emperor, Henry VII. and now king of Bohemia. But the marriage had been delayed, from time to time, under different pretences. The princeſs therefore demanded, that the contract might be fulfilled, or cauſe ſhewn why the nuptials ſhould not be ſolemnized: and underſtanding that a report had been ſpread to the diſadvantage of her chaſtity, ſhe repaired to the emperor's anti-chamber, undreſſed herſelf to the ſhift, in preſence of the ladies there aſſembled, and approaching Henry in that condition, requeſted that ſhe might be immediately examined by matrons. She was accordingly committed to the inſpection of ſome experienced ladies and midwives, who unanimoſly declared her an unſpotted virgin; and, in conſequence of their teſtimony, the nuptials were ſolemnized with

12. Heiſs, liv. ii. chap. 25.

great

PART I. A.D. 1309. great magnificence, in presence of the electors and other princes and noblemen of the diet[13].

THIS is a point on which our modern physicians would have had many consultations. They pretend that the signs of virginity are altogether precarious, though every old woman affirms them infallible. And fortunately the daughter of Winceslaus was judged by old women; for so scrupulous were the bridegrooms of those days on the article of chastity, that the slightest suspicion in regard to it was sufficient to obstruct the marriage, or ruin the happiness of a couple for life.

THE emperors, from the time of Frederic II. seemed to have lost sight of Italy. But Henry VII. as soon as he had settled the affairs of the North, resolved to re-establish the imperial authority in that country.
A.D. 1310. With this view a diet was held at Frankfort; where proper supplies being granted for the emperor's journey, well known by the name of the Roman Expedition, he set out for Italy, accompanied by the dukes of Austria and Bavaria, the archbishop of Triers, the bishop of Liege, the counts of Savoy and Flanders, with other noblemen, and the militia of all the imperial towns.

ITALY was still divided by the factions of the Guelphs and Ghibelines, who butchered one another without humanity or remorse. But their contest was no longer the same: it was not now a struggle between the empire and the priesthood, but between faction and faction, inflamed by mutual jealousies and animosities. Pope Clement V. had been obliged to leave Rome, which was distracted by the anarchy of popular government. The Colonnas, the Ursini,

13. Id. ibid.

LETTER XXXVIII.

and the Roman barons divided the city: and this division was the cause of the long abode of the popes in France, as we shall have occasion to see in the history of that kingdom; so that Rome seemed equally lost to the popes and the emperors. Sicily was in the possession of the house of Arragon, in consequence of the famous massacre called the Sicilian Vespers, which delivered that island from the tyranny of the French, as shall be afterwards more fully related. Carobert, King of Hungary, disputed the kingdom of Naples with his uncle Robert, son of Charles II. of the house of Anjou. The house of Este had established itself at Ferrara; and the Venetians wanted to make themselves masters of that country. The old league of the Italian cities no longer subsisted. It had been formed with no other view, than to oppose the emperors; and since they had neglected Italy, the cities were wholly employed in aggrandizing themselves at the expence of each other. The Florentines and the Genoese made war upon the republic of Pisa. Every city was also divided into faction within itself; Florence between the Blacks and the Whites, and Milan between the Visconti and the Turriani. A.D. 1310.

In the midst of these troubles Henry VII. appeared in Italy, and caused himself to be crowned king of Lombardy at Milan. The Guelphs had concealed the old iron crown of the Lombard kings, as if the right of reigning were attached to a particular circlet of metal. But Henry, contemning such a thought, ordered a new crown to be made, with which the ceremony of inauguration was performed [14]. A.D. 1311.

Cremona was the first place that ventured to oppose the emperor. He reduced it by force, and laid it

14. Struv. period. ix. sect. 4.

PART I. A.D. 1311. under heavy contributions. Parma, Vicenza, and Placentia, made peace with him on reaſonable conditions. Padua paid a hundred thouſand crowns, and received an imperial officer as governor. The Venetians preſented Henry with a large ſum of money, an imperial crown of gold enriched with diamonds, and a chain of very curious workmanſhip. Breſcia made a deſperate reſiſtance, and ſuſtained a very long ſiege; in the courſe of which the emperor's brother was ſlain, and his army diminiſhed to ſuch a degree, that the inhabitants ventured to march out, under the command of their prefect, Thibault de Druſſati, and give him battle. But they were repulſed with great loſs, after an obſtinate engagement, and at laſt obliged to ſubmit. Their city was diſmantled.

A.D. 1312. FROM Breſcia Henry marched to Genoa, where, he was received with expreſſions of joy, and ſplendidly entertained. He next proceeded to Rome; where, after much bloodſhed, he received the imperial crown from the hands of the cardinals. Clement V. who had originally invited Henry into Italy, growing jealous of his ſucceſs, had leagued with Robert king of Naples and the Urſini faction, to oppoſe his entrance into Rome. He entered it in ſpite of them, by the aſſiſtance of the Colonnas [15].

Now maſter of that ancient city, Henry appointed it a governor; and ordered, that all the cities and ſtates of Italy ſhould pay him an annual tribute. In this order he comprehended the kingdom of Naples, to which he was going to make good his claim of
A. D. 1313. ſuperiority by arms, when he died at Benevento, of poiſon, as it is commonly ſuppoſed, given him by a

15. Struv. ubi ſup. Cuſpin. *Vit. Hen. VII.*

Dominican

Dominican friar, in the consecrated wine of the sacrament[16]. LETTER XXXVIII. A.D. 1313.

During the last years of the reign of Henry VII. who was a valiant and politic prince, the knights of the Teutonic order aggrandised themselves, by making war upon the Pagans of the North. They possessed themselves of Samogitia, after butchering all the inhabitants who refused to embrace Christianity: they took Dantzick, and purchased Pomerelia of a marquis of Brandenburg, to whom it then belonged. But while the order was making these acquisitions in Europe, it lost all its possessions in Asia[17].

The affairs of France now claim our attention.

LETTER XXXIX.

France, *from the Death of* Lewis IX. *till the Accession of the House of* Valois.

YOU have already, my dear Philip, seen the pious Lewis IX. perish on the coast of Africa, in a second expedition against the Infidels. The most remarkable circumstance in the reign of his son and successor, Philip III. surnamed the Hardy, a prince of some merit, but much inferior to his father, is the interest that he took in the affairs of his uncle Charles of Anjou, king of Naples and Sicily. This circumstance naturally leads us to an account of the famous Sicilian Vespers, and of the war between France and Arragon. LETTER XXXIX. A. D. 1270.

16. Id. ibid. 17. Pet. de Duisburgh, *Chronic. Prussiæ*, Solignac, *Hist. de Pologne.* Barre, *Hist. d'Allemagne*; tom. vi.

PART I.

A.D. 1270. CHARLES, by the ſeverity of his government, had not only rendered himſelf, but his family odious to the Sicilians; and the inſolence and debauchery of the French troops had excited an irreconcilable averſion againſt the whole nation. At the ſame time, the boundleſs ambition of this prince, who was actually preparing to attack the Greek emperor, Michael Paleologus, and was ſuſpected to have an eye alſo to the German empire, raiſed a general jealouſy of him among his neighbours. Of that number was pope Nicholas III. who particularly dreaded Charles's power; and, if he is not ſlandered by the French hiſtorians, contrived the ſcheme of his humiliation, though it did not take effect till after the death of his Holineſs. It was conducted by John di Prodica, a Sicilian nobleman, who had ſecretly prepared the minds of his countrymen for a revolt: and an accident gave it birth.

A.D. 1282. ON the evening of Eaſter-day, as the French and Sicilians were going in proceſſion to the church of Monreale, in the neighbourhood of Palermo, a bride happened to paſs by with her train; when one Droguet, a Frenchman, inſtantly ran to her, and began to uſe her in a rude manner, under pretence of ſearching for concealed arms. A young Sicilian, flaming with reſentment, ſtabbed Droguet to the heart; a tumult enſued, and two hundred Frenchmen were ſlain on the ſpot. The enraged populace now ran to the city, crying aloud, "Kill the French! Kill the "French!"—and, without any diſtinction of age or ſex, murdered every perſon of that nation found in Palermo. The ſame fury ſpread itſelf through the whole iſland, and produced a general maſſacre. The rage of the conſpirators was ſo great, that they did not even ſpare their own relations, but ript up women with child by Frenchmen, and daſhed the half-formed

infants againſt the walls; while the prieſts, catching the general frenzy, butchered all their French penitents [1]. LETTER XXXIX. A. D. 1282.

PETER, king of Arragon, who had married the daughter of Mainfroy, the former uſurper of Sicily, ſupported the Sicilians in their rebellion, and openly claimed the kingdom in right of his wife. The Sicilians received him with open arms. He was crowned at Palermo; and Charles of Anjou was obliged to abandon the iſland, after having beſieged Meſſina for ſix weeks in vain. He had now no hopes but from France, where the nobility in general were well affected to him, and readily offered to furniſh troops for his ſupport. In this diſpoſition they were encouraged by Philip III. Martin IV. who had ſucceeded Nicholas III. in the ſee of Rome, was alſo entirely in the intereſt of Charles; who might probably have recovered Sicily, had he not imprudently agreed to decide the diſpute with Peter by ſingle combat.

THE king of Arragon, who had the duel very little at heart, was by that means enabled to amuſe his rival, and fix his own family on the throne of Sicily, which became a ſeparate kingdom from Naples. In the meantime the pope excommunicated Peter, and gave his dominions to any of the younger ſons of France that the king ſhould chuſe to name. Philip III. flattered by this propoſal, declared his ſon Charles of Valois king of Arragon and Valentia, and count of Barcelona. He put himſelf at the head of a numerous army, in order to realize theſe honours; and he furniſhed, at the ſame time, his uncle Charles of Anjou A. D. 1283.

1. Spondan. Maleſpina, Giannone, *Hiſt. di Napol.*

PART I. A. D. 1283. Anjou with a fleet and army for the recovery of Sicily. Splendid projects! which proved the ruin of both.

CHARLES had left his son of the same name at Naples, with strict orders to risk nothing until his arrival with succours from France. But that young prince, provoked by the Arragonese fleet, sailed out with the force under his command, and was defeated
A. D. 1284. and taken prisoner before his father's return; a circumstance which so much affected the king, that he is said to have strangled himself with a halter, a death sufficiently mild for such a tyrant [2].

MEANWHILE the French army, under the command of Philip, had penetrated into Catalonia, and laid siege to Gironne, which made a gallant defence. The king of Arragon being in the neighbourhood with a small army, attacked a convoy going to the French camp, and received a mortal wound. Gironne surrendered; and Philip having put a good garrison into it, dismissed part of his fleet, which had been principally hired from the Italian states. Roger di Loria, the Arragonese admiral, who durst not attack the French fleet while entire, burnt and destroyed it when divided, seizing all the money and provisions intended for the support of the army: and these losses sunk so deeply into the mind of Philip, that he secret-
A. D. 1285. ly repassed the Pyrenees, and died a few days after at Perpignan [3].

PHILIP III. was the first French monarch who granted Letters of Nobility, which he bestowed on Ralph the Goldsmith. In so doing, he only restored

2. Id. ibid. 3. Nag. *Chron.*

the

the ancient constitution of the Franks; who, being all of one blood, were esteemed equally noble, and alike capable of the highest offices. The notion of a particular and distinct noblesse took its rise towards the close of the second race, when many of the officers of the crown had usurped, and converted into hereditary dignities, the offices and jurisdictions which they received from royal favour [4].

LETTER XXXIX.

A.D. 1285.

THE reign of Philip IV. surnamed the Fair, the son and successor of Philip the Hardy, forms an æra in the history of France, by the civil and political regulations to which it gave birth; the institution of the supreme tribunals, called Parliaments, and the formal admission of the commons, or third estate, into the general assemblies of the nation. How the French commons came afterwards to be excluded from these assemblies, we shall have occasion to see in the course of our narration.

THE first care of Philip was to compose all differences with his neighbours, as he found his finances exhausted: and this he was enabled to effect by the mediation of Edward I. of England, against whom he afterwards ungenerously commenced hostilities, while that monarch was engaged in a war with Scotland. Philip also attempted, at the expence of much blood and treasure, to seize the county of Flanders, which had leagued with England. But as these wars were neither distinguished by any remarkable event, nor followed by any consequence that altered the state of either country, I shall proceed to the transactions between Philip and the see of Rome, and the extinction of the order of Knights Templars.

4. Henault. tom. i.

PART I.

POPE Boniface VIII. of whose arrogance I have already had occasion to speak, prohibited the clergy in general from granting any aids or subsidies to princes without his leave. Philip IV. who was no less haughty than his Holiness, and very needy, thought the clergy, as being the richest order of the state, ought to contribute to the wants of the crown, when the situation of affairs made it necessary, and without any application to Rome; he therefore encountered the pope's bull by an edict, forbidding any of the French clergy to send money abroad without the royal permission. This was the first cause of the famous quarrel between Boniface and Philip; and the insolence of a bishop of Pamiers threw things into a still greater ferment.

THIS man, named Bernard Saissetti, who had rebelled against the king in his diocese, was appointed by Boniface legate to the French court. An obnoxious subject thus invested with a dignity, which, according to the see of Rome, made him equal to the sovereign himself, came to Paris and braved Philip, threatening his kingdom with an interdict. A layman, who had behaved in such a manner, would have been punished with death, but the person of a churchman was sacred; and Philip was satisfied with delivering this incendiary into the hands of his metropolitan, the archbishop of Narbonne, not daring to treat him as a criminal.

A. D. 1303.

POPE Boniface, enraged at the confinement of his legate, issued a bull, declaring, "That the vicar "of Christ is vested with full authority over the "kings and kingdoms of the earth:" and the clergy of France received, at the same time, an order from his Holiness to repair to Rome. A French archdeacon

deacon carried this bull, and these orders to the king; commanding him, under pain of excommunication, to acknowledge the pope as his temporal sovereign. This insolence was answered with a moderation little suited to the character of Philip. He contented himself with ordering the pope's bull to be thrown into the fire, and prohibiting the bishops from departing the kingdom. Forty of them, however, with many of the heads of religious orders, went to Rome, notwithstanding the king's prohibition. For this trespass he seized all their temporalities.

LETTER XXXIX.

A.D. 1303.

WHILE Boniface and his council were considering the conduct of Philip, and by means of his confessor brought his most secret thoughts under review, that politic prince assembled the states of his kingdom. They acknowledged his independent right to the sovereignty of France, and disavowed the pope's claim. It was on this occasion, that the representatives of cities were first regularly summoned to the national assembly [5].

PHILIP was now at full liberty to treat the pope as an open enemy. He accordingly leagued with the family of Colonna, and sent William de Nogaret, a celebrated lawyer, into Italy, with a sum of money, in order to raise troops. A body of desperadoes were suddenly and secretly collected, with which William and Sciarra Colonna surprised Boniface at Anagni, a town in his own territories, and the place of his birth, exclaiming, "Let the pope die! and long live "the king of France!" Boniface, however, did not lose his courage. He dressed himself in his cope, put the tiara upon his head; and, holding the keys in one hand, and the cross in the other, presented himself

5. Henault, ubi sup. Du Chesne Polyd. Virg.

with

PART I. A.D. 1303. with an air of majeſty before his conquerors. On this occaſion, it is ſaid, Sciarra had the brutality to ſtrike him, crying out, "Tyrant! renounce the "pontificate, which thou haſt diſhonoured."—"I "am pope," replied Boniface, with a look of intrepidity, "and I will die pope!" This gallant behaviour had ſuch an effect on the minds of the inhabitants, that they roſe againſt his enemies, and reſcued him from their hands. But Boniface was ſo much affected by the indignities which had been offered him, that he died in a few days[6].

On the death of Boniface, the cardinals elected Nicholas Boccacini, who took the name of Benedict XI. He was a mild and good man; and being deſirous of uſing his power for the promoting of peace, he revoked the ſentence of excommunication, which his predeceſſor had fulminated againſt Philip the Fair. He alſo pardoned the Colonnas; and ſhewed a great diſpoſition to reform that corruption which death ſpread itſelf through the dominions of the church. But theſe proceedings, ſo notorious in themſelves, excited the hatred of his licentious and vindictive countrymen, who ſuddenly took him off by poiſon.
A.D. 1305. He was ſucceeded by Clement V. who being a Frenchman, and entirely in the intereſt of Philip, fixed his
A.D. 1308. reſidence in France. By means of this pope the French monarch hoped to have obtained the empire for his brother, Charles of Valois, and actually reunited
A.D. 1310. the city of Lyons to his kingdom[7].

But although this was juſtly conſidered as a great acquiſition, Philip had occaſion for the aſſiſtance of Clement in an affair that lay nearer his heart. I allude to the ſuppreſſion of the order of Knights Templars.

6. A. Baillet, *Hiſt. de Demelez du Boniface VIII. avec Philip le Bel.*
7. Trivet. *Annal.* Menitr. *Hiſt. Conc. de Lyons.*

That

That religious and military order, which took its riſe, as has been already obſerved, during the firſt fervour of the Cruſades, had made rapid advances in credit and authority; and had acquired, from the piety of the faithful, ample poſſeſſions in every Chriſtian country, but more eſpecially in France. The great riches of thoſe knights, and other concurring cauſes, had however relaxed the ſeverity of their diſcipline. Convinced by experience, by fatigues, and by dangers, of the folly of their fruitleſs expeditions into Aſia, they choſe rather to enjoy in eaſe their opulent fortunes in Europe; and being all men of birth, they ſcorned the ignoble occupations of a monaſtic life, and paſſed their time wholly in the faſhionable amuſements of hunting, gallantry, and the pleaſures of the table. By theſe means the Templars had in a great meaſure loſt that popularity, which firſt raiſed them to honour and diſtinction. But the immediate cauſe of their deſtruction proceeded from the cruel and vindictive ſpirit of Philip the Fair.

The ſeverity of the taxes, and the mal-adminiſtration of Philip and his council in regard to the coin, which they had repeatedly altered in its value, occaſioned a ſedition in Paris. The Knights Templars were accuſed of being concerned in the tumult. They were rich, as has been obſerved; and Philip was no leſs avaricious than vindictive. He determined to involve the whole order in one undiſtinguiſhed ruin; and on no better information than that of two knights, condemned by their ſuperiors to perpetual impriſonment for their vices, he ordered all the Templars in France to be committed to priſon, on one day, and imputed to them ſuch enormous and abſurd crimes, as are ſufficient of themſelves to deſtroy all the credit of the accuſation. They were univerſally charged with murder, robbery, and the vices moſt ſhocking to nature;

PART I.
A.D. 1310.

and it was pretended, that every one whom they received into their order was obliged to renounce his Saviour, to ſpit upon the croſs, and to join to this impiety the ſuperſtition of worſhipping a gilded head, which was ſecretly kept in one of their houſes at Marſeilles. The novice was alſo ſaid to be initiated by many infamous rites, which could ſerve no other purpoſe but to degrade the order in his eyes: and, as Voltaire very juſtly deſerves, it ſhews a very indifferent knowledge of mankind, to ſuppoſe there can be any ſocieties that ſupport themſelves by the badneſs of their morals, or who make a law to enforce the practice of impudence and obſcenity. Every ſociety endeavours to render itſelf reſpectable to thoſe who are deſirous of becoming members of it.

Absurd, however, as theſe accuſations appear, above one hundred knights were put to the rack, in order to extort from them a confeſſion of their guilt. The more obſtinate periſhed in the hands of their tormentors. Several, in the violence of their agonies, acknowledged whatever was deſired of them. Forged confeſſions were imputed to others; and Philip, as if

A.D. 1311.

their guilt had now been certain, proceeded to a confiſcation of all their treaſures. But no ſooner were theſe unhappy men relieved from their tortures than they diſavowed their forced confeſſions; exclaimed againſt the forgeries; juſtified the innocence of their order, and appealed to the many gallant actions performed by them, as a full apology for their conduct.

Enraged at this diſappointment, and thinking himſelf bound in honour to proceed to extremities, Philip ordered fifty-four Templars, whom he branded as relapſed heretics, to periſh by the puniſhment of fire in his capital. Great numbers expired, after a like manner, in different parts of the kingdom:

and

LETTER XXXIX.

A.D. 1311.

and when the tyrant found, that the perseverance of those unhappy victims, in justifying to the last their innocence, had made deep impression on the minds of the people, he endeavoured to overcome the constancy of the Templars by new inhumanities. John de Molay, the grand-master of the order, and another great officer, brother to the sovereign of Dauphiny, were conducted to a scaffold, erected before the church of Notre-dame at Paris. A full pardon was offered them on one hand; a fire destined for their execution was shewn them, on the other. But these gallant noblemen persisted in the protestation of their own innocence and that of their order; and, as the reward of their fortitude, they were instantly hurried into the flames by the public executioner [8].

A.D. 1312.

In all this barbarous injustice, Clement V. who then resided at Poitiers, fully concurred; and, by the plenitude of his apostolic power, in a general council held at Vienne, without examining a single witness, or making any inquiry into the truth of facts, he abolished the whole order. The Templars all over Europe were thrown into prison; their conduct underwent a strict scrutiny, and the power of their enemies still pursued and oppressed them. But no where, except in France, were the smallest traces of their guilt pretended to be found. Some countries sent ample testimony of their piety and morals: but as the order was now annihilated, their lands in France, Italy, England, and Germany, were given to the Knights Hospitallers. In Spain, they were given to the knights of Calatrava, an order established to combat the Moors [9].

8. Puteau, *Hist. de la Condemnat. de Templiers.* Nic. Gartler. *Hist. Templar.* Steph. Baluz. *Vit. Pontif. Avenion.*

9. Id. ibid. Rymer, vol. iii. Vertot, *Hist. Chev. Malth.* tom. ii.

PHILIP

PART I.

A.D. 1312. PHILIP, ſoon after the ſuppreſſion of this order, revived his quarrel with the count of Flanders, whoſe dominions he again unſucceſsfully attempted to unite to the crown of France. The failure of that project, together with ſome domeſtic misfortunes, threw him into a languiſhing conſumption, which carried him

A.D. 1314. off in the thirtieth year of his reign, and the forty-ſeventh of his age. He was certainly a prince of great talents; and, notwithſtanding his vices, France ought to reverence his memory. By fixing the parliaments, or ſupreme courts of judicature, he ſecured the ready execution of juſtice to all his ſubjects; and, though his motive might not be the moſt generous for calling in the third eſtate into the national council, he by that meaſure put it in the power of the French nation to have eſtabliſhed a free government.

LEWIS X. ſurnamed Hutin, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Philip the Fair, began his reign with an act of injuſtice. At the inſtigation of his uncle, the count of Valois, he cauſed his prime miniſter Marigny to be

A.D. 1315. executed, on account of many pretended crimes, and magic among the reſt; but in reality on account of his ſuppoſed riches, which were confiſcated to the crown.

BUT neither the confiſcation of Marigny's effects, nor of thoſe who were ſtyled his accomplices, being ſufficient for the king's wants, he extorted money from the nobility, under various pretences: he levied a tenth upon the clergy: he ſold enfranchiſements to the ſlaves employed in cultivating the royal domains; and when they would not purchaſe their freedom, he declared them free, whether they would or not, and

levied

levied the money by force[10]! He died, like his father, after an unsuccessful attempt upon Flanders. LETTER XXXIX. A.D. 1316.

On the death of Lewis X. a violent dispute arose in regard to the succession. The king left one daughter, by his first wife, Margaret of Burgundy, and his queen, Clemence of Hungary, pregnant. Clemence was brought to bed of a son, who lived only eight days. It had long been a prevailing opinion, that the crown of France could never descend to a female; and as nations in accounting for principles which they regard as fundamental, and as peculiar to themselves, are fond of grounding them on primary laws rather than on blind custom, it had been usual to derive this maxim (though, according to the best antiquarians, falsely) from a clause in the Salian Code, the body of laws of an ancient tribe among the Franks. In consequence of this opinion, and precedents founded on it, Philip V. surnamed the Long, brother to Lewis X. was proclaimed king; and as the duke of Burgundy made some opposition, and asserted the right of his niece, the states of the kingdom, by a solemn and deliberate decree, excluded her, and declared all females for ever incapable of succeeding to the crown of France[11]. The wisdom of this decree is too evident to need being pointed out. It not only prevents those evils which necessarily proceed from female caprices and tender partialities, so apt to make a minister from love, and degrade him from whim, but is attended with this peculiar advantage, that a foreigner can never become sovereign of France by marriage; a circumstance always dangerous, and often productive of the most fatal revolutions. A.D. 1317.

10. Le Gendre. Dupleix. P. Henault. P. Daniel.

11. Mezeray. Du. Tillet.

THE

PART I.

THE reign of Philip the Long, and alſo of his brother Charles IV. ſurnamed the Fair, were both ſhort; nor was either diſtinguiſhed by any memorable event. Charles left only one daughter, and conſequently no heir to the crown; but as his queen was pregnant, Philip de Valois, the next male heir, was appointed
A. D. 1328. regent, with a declared right of ſucceſſion, if the iſſue ſhould prove female. The queen of France was delivered of a daughter: the regency ended; and Philip de Valois was unanimouſly placed on the throne of France.

THIS prince was couſin-german to the deceaſed king, and inconteſtably the neareſt heir-male deſcended from a male: but Edward III. as we ſhall ſoon have occaſion to ſee, took up the diſpute upon other grounds. In the mean time I muſt make you acquainted with the more early part of the reign of that illuſtrious monarch.

LET-

LETTER XL.

ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, FRANCE, *and* SPAIN, *during the Reign of* EDWARD III.

LETTER XL. A.D. 1327.

THE reign of Edward III. my dear Philip, opens a wide field of obſervation, and involves whatever is great or intereſting in the hiſtory of Europe during that period. But before we enter on the foreign tranſactions of this prince, I muſt inform you of the domeſtic; and, for this purpoſe, it will be neceſſary to recapitulate a little.

You have already been witneſs to the miſerable death of the ſecond Edward, by the inhuman emiſſaries of Roger Mortimer the queen's gallant, who was become the object of public odium. The hatred of the nation daily increaſed both againſt him and queen Iſabella. Conſcious of this, they ſubjected to their vengeance whomſoever they feared, in order to ſecure their uſurped power. The earl of Kent, the young king's uncle, was iniquitouſly condemned and executed; the earl of Lancaſter, Kent's brother, was thrown into priſon; and many of the prelates and nobility were proſecuted under different pretences [1].

THESE abuſes could not long eſcape the obſervation of a prince of ſo much diſcernment as young Edward, nor fail to rouſe his active ſpirit againſt the murderer of his father, and the diſhonourer of his mother. But he was beſieged in ſuch a manner by the creatures of Mortimer, that it became neceſſary to conduct the project of bringing that felon to juſtice

1. W. Heming. T. Walſingham.

PART I.
A.D. 1330. with as much ſecrecy and caution as if he had been forming a conſpiracy againſt his ſovereign. He communicated his intentions, however, to ſome of the nobility, who readily entered into his views; and they ſurpriſed the uſurper in the caſtle of Nottingham, and dragged him from an apartment adjoining to the queen's, while ſhe, in the moſt pathetic manner, implored her ſon to ſpare the *gentle* Mortimer!—A parliament was immediately ſummoned for his condemnation; and he was ſentenced to die, from the ſuppoſed notoriety of his crimes, without any form of trial. He periſhed by the hands of the hangman, at the Elmes, near London: and the queen was confined, during life, to her houſe at Riſings; where ſhe languiſhed out twenty-five years of ſorrow rather than of penitence [2].

EDWARD having now taken the reins of government into his own hands, applied himſelf with induſtry and judgment, to redreſs all thoſe grievances which had either proceeded from want of authority in the
A.D. 1331. crown, or the late abuſes of it. He iſſued writs to the judges, enjoining them to adminiſter juſtice, without paying any regard to the arbitrary orders of the great: and as thieves, robbers, murderers, and criminals of all kinds, had multiplied to an enormous degree during the public convulſions, and were openly protected by the powerful barons, who made uſe of them againſt their enemies, the king ſet himſelf ſeriouſly to remedy the evil, after exacting from the peers a ſolemn promiſe in parliament, that they would break off all connexion with ſuch malefactors [3]. The miniſters of juſtice, animated by his example, employed the utmoſt diligence in diſcovering, purſuing, and pu-

2. Knyghton. Walſingham. 3. Cotton's *Abridgement*.

LETTER XL.

A.D. 1331.

niſhing criminals: and the diſorder was by degrees corrected.

In proportion as the government acquired authority at home, it became formidable to the neighbouring nations; and the ambitious ſpirit of Edward ſought, and ſoon found, an occaſion of exerting itſelf. The wiſe and valliant Robert Bruce, king of Scotland, who had recovered by arms the independency of his country, and fixed it by treaty, was now dead, and had left David his ſon a minor, under the guardianſhip of Randolph earl of Murray, the companion of his victories. About this time Edward Baliol ſon of John, formerly crowned king of Scotland, was diſcovered in a French priſon by lord Beaumont, an Engliſh baron, who, in the right of his wife, claimed the earldom of Buchan in Scotland; and deeming Baliol a proper inſtrument for his purpoſe, procured him his liberty, and induced him to revive his claim to the Scottiſh crown.

Many other Engliſh noblemen, who had obtained eſtates during the ſubjection of Scotland, were in the ſame ſituation with Beaumont. They alſo ſaw the utility of Baliol, and began to think of recovering their poſſeſſions by arms: and they applied to Edward for his concurrence and aſſiſtance. Edward was aſhamed to avow their enterprize. He was afraid that violence and injuſtice would every where be imputed to him, if he attacked with ſuperior force a minor king, and a brother-in-law, whoſe independent title had been ſo lately acknowledged by ſolemn treaty; but he ſecretly encouraged Baliol in his claim, connived at his aſſembling forces in the North, and gave countenance to the nobles who were diſpoſed to join him.

PART I. A.D. 1332.

A force of near three thousand men was assembled, with which Baliol and his adherents landed on the coast of Fife.

SCOTLAND was now in a very different situation from that in which it had appeared under the victorious Robert. Besides the loss of that great monarch, whose genius and authority preserved entire the whole political fabric, and maintained union among the unruly barons, lord Douglas, impatient of rest, had gone over to Spain in a crusade against the Moors, and there perished in battle. The earl of Murray, long declining through years and infirmities, had lately died, and been succeeded in the regency by Donald earl of Mar, a man much inferior in talents; so that the military spirit of the Scots, though still unbroken, was left without a guide. Baliol had valour and activity, and his followers being firmly united by their common object, drove back the Scots who opposed his landing. He marched into the heart of the country; and with his small party defeated an army of forty thousand men, under the earl of Mar, of whom twelve thousand are said to have been slain.

BALIOL, soon after this victory, made himself master of Perth, and was crowned at Scone; while young Bruce, his competitor, was sent over to France with his betrothed wife Jane, sister to king Edward. Scotland was subdued by a handful of men; but Baliol lost the kingdom by a revolution as sudden as that by which he had acquired it. His imprudence, or his necessities, making him dismiss part of his English followers, he was unexpectedly attacked near Annan by sir Archibald Douglas, and other chieftains of Bruce's party. He was routed: his brother John Baliol was slain;

flain; and he himfelf was chafed into England in a miferable plight [4]. A. D. 1332.

In this extremity, Baliol had again recourfe to the Englifh monarch, without whofe affiftance he was now become fenfible he could neither recover nor keep poffeffion of his throne. He offered to acknowledge Edward's fuperiority; to renew the homage for Scotland; and to efpoufe the princefs Jane, if the pope's confent could be obtained for diffolving her former marriage, which was not yet confummated. Ambitious of retrieving that important fuperiority relinquifhed by Mortimer during his minority, Edward willingly accepted the offer, and put himfelf at the head of a powerful army, in order to reinftate Baliol in his throne. The Scots met him with an army more numerous, but lefs united, and worfe fupplied with arms and provifions. A battle was fought at Halidown-hill, a little north of Berwick; where about thirty thoufand of the Scots fell, and all the chief nobility were either killed or taken prifoners [5]. A. D. 1333.

After this fatal blow, the Scottifh nobles had no refource but in fubmiffion. Baliol was acknowledged king by a parliament affembled at Edinburgh; the fuperiority of England was again recognized: many of the Scottifh nobility fwore fealty to Edward; who, leaving a confiderable body of troops with Baliol to complete the conqueft of the kingdom, returned to England with the remainder of his army. But the Englifh forces were no fooner withdrawn than the Scots revolted againft Baliol, and returned to their former allegiance under Bruce. Edward was again A. D. 1334.

4. Heming. Knyghton. Walfingham. Buchanan. Fordun.
5. Ibid.

PART I. A.D. 1335. obliged to assemble an army, and to march into Scotland. The Scots, taught by experience, withdrew into their hills and fastnesses. He destroyed the houses, and ravaged the estates of those whom he called rebels. But this severity only confirmed them more in their obstinate antipathy to England and to Baliol; and being now rendered desperate, they soon re-conquered

A.D 1336. their country from the English. Edward made anew his appearance in Scotland, and with like success. He found every thing hostile in the kingdom, except the spot on which he was encamped; and although he marched uncontrolled over the low countries, the nation itself was farther than ever from being broken or subdued. Besides being supported by their pride and anger, passions difficult to tame, the Scots were encouraged amid all their calamities, with daily promises of relief from France; and as a war was now likely to break out between that kingdom and England, they had reason to expect a division of the force which had so long overwhelmed and oppressed them [6].

THESE transactions naturally bring us back to Edward's claim to the crown of France; on which depended the most memorable events, not only of this long and active reign, but of the whole English and French history, during more than a century. A notion weaker or worse grounded than that claim cannot well be imagined. He admitted the general principle, that females could not inherit the crown of France. But, in so doing, he only set aside his mother's right, to establish his own; for although he acknowledged females incapable of inheriting, he asserted that males descending from females were liable to no such objec-

6. Rymer, vol. iv. Leland's *Collect* vol. ii. W. Heming. T. Walsingham.

tion,

tion, but might claim by right of propinquity. This plea, however, was not only more favourable to Charles king of Navarre, descended from a daughter of Lewis X. but contrary to the established rules of succession in every European country. Edward's claim was therefore disregarded, and the title of Philip of Valois universally recognized and acknowledged [7]. A.D. 1336.

But although the youthful and ambitious mind of Edward had rashly entertained this false idea, he did not carry his pretensions so far as to engage in hostilities with so powerful a monarch as Philip VI. On the contrary, he went over to Amiens, and did homage for Guienne [8]. By that compliance he indirectly acknowledged Philip's title to the crown of France. His own claim indeed was so unreasonable, and so thoroughly disavowed by the whole French nation, that to insist on it was no better than pretending to the violent conquest of the kingdom; and it probably would never have been farther thought of, had it not been for some incidents which afterwards excited an animosity between the two monarchs.

Robert of Artois, a prince of great talents and credit, who had married Philip's sister, had fallen into disgrace at the court of France. His brother-in-law not only abandoned him, but prosecuted him with violence. He came over to England, and was favourably received by Edward. Now resigning himself to all the movements of rage and revenge, Robert endeavoured to revive in the mind of the English monarch his supposed title to the crown of France; and even flattered him, that it was not impossible for a prince of A. D. 1337.

7. Froissard, tom. i. D. Specileg. tom. iii. 8. Rymer, vol. iv.

PART I.
A.D. 1337.

his valour and abilities to render this claim effectual, "I made Philip de Valois king of France," added he; "and with your assistance, I will depose him for "his ingratitude [9]."

EDWARD was the more disposed to listen to such suggestions, as he had reason to complain of Philip's conduct with regard to Guienne, and because that monarch had both given protection to the exiled David Bruce, and encouraged the Scots in their struggles for independency. Resentment gradually filled the breasts of both monarchs, and made them incapable of hearkening to any terms of accommodation. Philip thought he should be wanting to the first principles of policy, if he abandoned Scotland; and Edward pretended that he must renounce all claim to generosity, if he withdrew his protection from Robert of Artois. Alliances were formed on both sides, and great preparations were made for war.

ON the side of England was the count of Hainault, the king's father-in law, the duke of Brabant, the archbishop of Cologne, the duke of Guelder, the marquis of Juliers, and the count of Namur. These princes could supply, either from their own states, or from the bordering countries, great numbers of warlike troops: and nothing was wanting to make Edward's alliance on that quarter truly formidable but the accession of Flanders, which he obtained by means somewhat extraordinary.

THE Flemings, the first people in the north of Europe that successfully cultivated arts and manufac-

9. Froissard, liv. i. *Mem. de Robert d'Artois.*

tures,

A. D. 1337.

tures, began now to emerge from that ſtate of vaſſalage, or rather ſlavery, into which the common people had been univerſally thrown by the abuſes of the feudal polity; and the lower claſs of men among them had riſen to a degree of riches unknown elſewhere to thoſe of their ſtation in that comparatively barbarous age. It was impoſſible for ſuch men not to reſent any act of tyranny; and acts of tyranny were likely to be practiſed by a ſovereign and nobility accuſtomed to domineer. They had riſen in tumults: they had inſulted the nobles, and driven their earl into France[10].

In every ſuch revolution there is always ſome leader or demagogue, to whoſe guidance the people blindly deliver themſelves. And on his character entirely depends the happineſs or miſery of thoſe who have put themſelves under his care; for every ſuch man has it in his power to be a deſpot: ſo narrow are the boundaries between liberty and ſlavery!—The preſent leader of the Flemings was James d'Arteville, a brewer of Ghent, who governed them with a more abſolute ſway than had ever been aſſumed by any of their lawful ſovereigns. He placed and diſplaced the magiſtrates at pleaſure. He was conſtantly attended by a guard; who, on the leaſt ſignal from him, inſtantly aſſaſſinated any man that happened to fall under his diſpleaſure. All the cities of Flanders were full of his ſpies; and it was immediate death to give him the ſmalleſt umbrage. This was the man to whom Edward addreſſed himſelf for bringing over the Flemings to his intereſts[11].

10. Proiſſard, liv. i. 11. Id. ibid.

PROUD

PART I.
A.D. 1338.

PROUD of advances from so great a prince, and sensible that the Flemings were naturally inclined to maintain connections with the English, on account of the advantages of trade, their demagogue readily embraced the cause of Edward, and invited him over to the Low Countries. Edward repaired to Flanders, attended by several of his nobility, and a body of English forces; but before the Flemings, who were vassals of France, would take up arms against their liege lord, Edward was obliged to assume the title of king of France, and to challenge their assistance for dethroning Philip de Valois, the usurper of his kingdom[12]. This step, which was taken by the advice of d'Arteville, as he knew it would produce an irreconcilable breach between the two monarchs (a further motive for his joining the cause of Edward), gave rise to that animosity which the English and French nations, but more especially the former, have ever since borne against each other, an animosity which had, for some centuries, so visible an influence on all their transactions, and which still continues to inflame the heart of many an honest Englishman.

LET philosophers blame this prejudice as inconsistent with the liberality of the human mind; let moralists mourn its severity, and weak politicians lament its destructive rage—you, my dear Philip, as a lover of your country, will ever, I hope, revere a passion that has so often given victory to the arms of England, and humbled her haughty rival; which has preserved, and continues to preserve the independency of Great Britain!

THE French monarch made great preparations against the attack from the English; and his foreign

12. W. Heming. T. Walsingham. Rymer, vol. v.

alliances

alliances were both more natural and powerful than thoſe which were formed by his antagoniſt. The king of Navarre, the duke of Britanny, the count of Bar, were entirely in the intereſts of Philip; and on the ſide of Germany, the king of Bohemia, the palatine of the Rhine, the dukes of Lorraine and Auſtria, the biſhop of Liege, the counts of Deuxponts, Vaudemont, and Geneva. A mighty army was brought into the field on both ſides. Conferences and mutual defiances, however, were all that the firſt campaign produced; and Edward, diſtreſſed for want of money, was obliged to diſband his army, and return to England[13].

LETTER XL.

A. D. 1338.

A. D. 1339.

But this illuſtrious prince had too much ſpirit to be diſcouraged by the firſt difficulties of an undertaking. He was anxious to retrieve his honour by more ſucceſſful and more gallant enterprizes; and next ſeaſon proved ſomewhat more fortunate. The Engliſh, under the command of Edward, gained an important advantage over the French by ſea. Two hundred and thirty French ſhips were taken, thirty thouſand Frenchmen were killed with two of their admirals. The luſtre of this victory increaſed the king's reputation among his allies, who aſſembled their forces with expedition, and joined the Engliſh army; and Edward marched to the frontiers of France at the head of above one hundred thouſand men. The French monarch had collected an army ſtill more numerous; yet he continued to adhere to the prudent reſolution he had formed, of putting nothing to hazard, hoping by that means to weary out the enemy. This conduct had in ſome meaſure the deſired effect. Edward fatigued with fruitleſs ſieges, and irritated at the diſagreeable proſpect

A. D. 1340.

13. Froiſſard, ubi ſup. W. Heming. T. Walſingham.

that

PART I. A.D. 1340. that lay before him, challenged Philip to decide their claims to the crown of France by ſingle combat; by an action of one hundred againſt one hundred, or by a general engagement. Philip replied with his uſual coolneſs, that it did not become a vaſſal to challenge his liege lord; and Edward found it neceſſary to conclude a truce for one year[14].

THIS truce would in all likelihood have been converted into a ſolid peace, and Edward would have dropped his claim, had not an unexpected circumſtance opened to him more promiſing views, and given his enterpriſing genius a full opportunity to diſplay itſelf. The count de Mountfort, the heir male of Britanny, had ſeized that duchy in oppoſition to Charles of Blois, the French king's nephew, who had married the daughter of the late duke. Senſible that he could A.D. 1341. expect no favour from Philip, Mountfort made a voyage to England, on pretence of ſoliciting his claim to the earldom of Richmond, which had devolved to him by his brother's death; and then offering to do homage to Edward, as king of France, for the duchy of Britanny, he propoſed a ſtrict alliance for the ſupport of each other's pretenſions.

LITTLE negociation was neceſſary to conclude a treaty between two princes connected by their immediate intereſts. But the captivity of the count de Mountfort, which happened ſoon after, ſeemed to put an end to all the advantages naturally to be expected from ſuch an alliance. The affairs of Britanny, however, were unexpectedly retrieved by Jane of Flanders, counteſs of Mountfort, the moſt extraordinary woman of her time. Rouſed by the captivity of her huſband

14. Ibid.

from

from those domestic cares to which she had hitherto confined herself, she boldly undertook to support the fallen fortunes of her family. She went from place to place, encouraging the garrisons, providing them with every thing necessary for subsistence, and concerting the proper plans of defence; and after having put the whole province in a good posture, she shut herself up in Hennebone, where she waited with impatience the arrival of those succours which Edward had promised her.

CHARLES of Blois, anxious to make himself master of this important fortress, and still more to get possession of the person of the countess, sat down before the place with a great army, and conducted the attack with indefatigable industry. The defence was no less vigorous. The besiegers were repulsed in every assault. Frequent sallies were made by the garrison; and the countess herself being the most forward on all occasions, every one was ashamed not to exert himself to the utmost. The reiterated attacks of the besiegers, however, had at length made several breaches in the walls; and it was apprehended that a general assault, which was dreaded every hour, might bear down the garrison. It became necessary to treat of a capitulation: and the bishop of Laon was already engaged in a conference on that subject with Charles of Blois, when the countess, who had mounted a high tower, and was anxiously looking toward the sea for relief, descried some sails at a distance. "Behold "the succours!" exclaimed she;—"the English succours!—No capitulation." They consisted of six thousand archers, and some cavalry, under the command of sir Walter Manny, one of the bravest captains of England; and having entered the harbour, and inspired fresh courage into the garrison, immediately

PART I. A.D. 1342. ately sallied forth, beat the besiegers from their posts, and obliged them to decamp[15].

NOTWITHSTANDING this success, the troops under sir Walter Manny were found insufficient for the support of the countess of Mountfort, who was still ready to be over-powered by numbers. Edward therefore sent over a reinforcement under Robert of Artois, and afterwards went to her assistance in person. Robert was killed in the defence of Vannes: and Edward A.D. 1343. concluded a truce of three years, on honourable terms, for himself and the countess.

THIS truce, however, was of much shorter duration than the term specified in the articles, and each monarch endeavoured to throw on the other the blame of its infraction. The English parliament entered A.D. 1344. warmly into the quarrel, advised the king not to be amused by a fraudulent truce, and granted him supplies for the renewal of hostilities. The earl of Derby A.D. 1345. was sent over for the protection of Guienne, where he behaved with great gallantry; and Edward invaded A.D. 1346. Normandy with an army of thirty thousand men. He took several towns, and ravaged the whole province, carrying his excursions even to the gates of Paris. At length Philip advanced against him at the head of an hundred thousand men: and Edward, afraid of being surrounded in the enemy's country, retreated towards Flanders[16].

IN this retreat happened the famous passage of the Somme, which was followed by the still more celebrated battle of Cressy.—When Edward approached the Somme, he found all the bridges either broken

15. Froissard, liv. i. 16. R. de Averburg. Froissard, ubi. sup.

down

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A.D. 1346.

down or ſtrongly guarded. An army of twenty thouſand men, under the command of Godamar de Faye, was ſtationed on the oppoſite bank; and Philip was advancing on him, at the ſame time, from behind. In this extremity he was informed of a place that was fordable: he haſtened thither, but ſaw de Faye ready to obſtruct his paſſage. A man of leſs reſolution, or more coolneſs, would have heſitated: Edward deliberated not a moment, but threw himſelf into the river ſword in hand, at the head of his troops; drove the enemy from their ſtation, and purſued them to a diſtance on the plain. Philip and his forces arrived at the ford, when the rear-guard of the Engliſh army was paſſing; and the riſing of the tide only prevented that incenſed monarch from following them. On the lapſe of ſo few moments depended the fate of Edward!—and theſe, by his celerity, were turned from ruin into victory! yet if he had been unfortunate in his paſſage, or if the French army had arrived ſomewhat ſooner, how many pretended philoſophers would have told us that he was an inconſiderate prince, and the attempt would have been branded as abſurd!—So much, my dear Philip, does the reputation of events depend on ſucceſs, and the characters of men on the ſituations in which they are engaged.

Edward by his fortunate paſſage gained ſome ground of the enemy, as Philip was obliged to take his route by the bridge of Abbeville; but he ſtill ſaw the danger of precipitating his march over the plains of Picardy, and of expoſing his rear to the inſults of the numerous cavalry, in which the French camp abounded. He therefore embraced the prudent reſolution of waiting the arrival of the enemy, and choſe his ground advantageouſly near the village of Creſſy; where

PART I. A.D. 1346. where he drew up his army in excellent order, and divided into three lines. The first line was commanded by the prince of Wales, commonly called the Black Prince, from the colour of his armour; the second by the earls of Arundel and Northampton; and the king himself took the direction of the third, which was intended as an auxiliary force. The French army, which now consisted of above an hundred and twenty thousand men, was also formed into three lines; but as Philip had made a hasty and confused march from Abbeville, the troops were fatigued and disordered. The first line consisting of fifteen thousand Genoese cross-bow men, was commanded by Anthony Doria and Charles Grimaldi: the second was led by the count d' Alençon; and the king in Aug. 26. person was at the head of the third. The battle began about three o'clock, and continued till towards evening; when the whole French army took to flight, and was followed and put to the sword with great slaughter till the darkness of night put an end to the pursuit. Almost forty thousand of the French were slain, among whom were many of the principal nobility, twelve hundred knights, and fourteen hundred gentlemen. On his return to the camp Edward flew into the arms of the prince of Wales, who had distinguished himself in a remarkable manner. "My "brave son!" cried he, "persevere in your honour-"able course. You are my son! for valiantly have you "acquitted yourself to-day. You have shewn your-"self worthy of empire [17]."

This victory is partly ascribed to some pieces of artillery, which Edward is said to have planted in his

17. Froissard, lib. i. Walsingham. Knyghton. Averburg.

front,

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A.D. 1346.

front, and which gave great alarm to the enemy [18]; but we cannot suppose they did much execution. The invention was yet in its infancy; and cannon were at first so clumsy, and of such difficult management, that they were rather incumbrances than those terrible instruments of desolation which we now behold them. They had never before been made use of on any memorable occasion in Europe. This may, therefore, be regarded as the æra of one of the most important discoveries that has been made among men: a discovery which changed by degrees the whole military science, and of course many circumstances in the political government of Europe; which has brought nations more on a level; has made success in war a matter of calculation; and though seemingly contrived for the destruction of mankind, and the overthrow of empires, has in the issue rendered battles less bloody, and conquests less frequent, by giving greater security to states, and interesting the passions of men less in the struggle for victory.

A WEAK mind is elated with the smallest success: a great spirit is little affected by any turn of fortune. Edward, instead of expecting that the victory at Cressy would be immediately followed by the total subjection of the disputed kingdom, seemed rather to moderate his views. He prudently limited his ambition to the conquest of Calais; by which he hoped to secure such an easy entrance into France, as might afterwards open the way to more considerable advantages. He therefore marched thither with his victorious army, and presented himself before the place.

18. Villani, lib. xii.

PART I.

A. D. 1346. In the mean time David Bruce, king of Scotland, whom his countrymen had recalled, was ſtrongly ſolicited by his ally, Philip, to invade the northern counties of England. He accordingly aſſembled a great army, and carried his ravages as far as Durham. He

Oct. 17. was there met by queen Philippa, at the head of a body of twelve thouſand men, which ſhe committed to the command of lord Percy. A fierce engagement enſued; and the Scots were broken and chaſed off the field with great ſlaughter. Fifteen thouſand of them were ſlain, among whom were the chancellor and earl-marſhal. The king himſelf was taken priſoner, together with many of the principal nobility [19].

As ſoon as Philippa had ſecured her royal priſoner, ſhe croſſed the ſea at Dover, and was received in the Engliſh camp before Calais with all the eclat due to her rank, her merit, and her ſucceſs. This was the age of chivalry and gallantry. Edward's courtiers excelled in theſe accompliſhments no leſs than in policy and war; and the extraordinary qualities of the women of thoſe times; the neceſſary conſequence of reſpectful admiration, form the beſt apology for the ſuperſtitious devotion which was then paid to the

A.D. 1347. ſofter ſex. Calais was taken, after an obſtinate ſiege of almoſt twelve months. The inhabitants were expelled: and it was peopled anew with Engliſh ſubjects, and made the ſtaple of wool, leather, tin, and lead; the four chief commodities of England, and the only ones for which there was yet any demand in foreign markets. A truce was ſoon afterwards concluded with

19. Averburg. Knyghton. Froiſſard, ubi ſup.

France,

France, through the mediation of the pope's legate, and Edward returned in triumph to England [20]. LETTER XL. A. D. 1348.

Here a few obſervations ſeem neceſſary. The great ſucceſs of Edward in his foreign wars had excited a ſtrong emulation among the Engliſh nobility; and their animoſity againſt France, and reſpect to their prince, had given a new and more uſeful direction to that ambition which had ſo often been turned by thoſe turbulent barons againſt the crown, or which diſcharged its fury on their fellow-ſubjects. This prevailing ſpirit was farther promoted by the inſtitution of the military Order of the Garter, in emulation of A.D. 1350. ſome orders of knighthood, of a like nature, which had been eſtabliſhed in different parts of Europe.—A ſtory prevails, though not ſupported by ancient authority, that Edward's miſtreſs, commonly ſuppoſed to be the counteſs of Saliſbury, dropped her garter at a court ball; that the king ſtooped, and took it up; when obſerving ſome of his courtiers to ſmile, as if they had ſuſpected another intention, he held up the trophy, and called out, *Honi ſoit qui mal y penſe:* "Evil "to him that evil thinks!"—And as every incident of gallantry in thoſe times was magnified into a matter of importance, he inſtituted the Order of the Garter in commemoration of this event, though not without political views, and gave theſe words as the motto of the order. Frivolous as ſuch an origin may ſeem, it is perfectly ſuitable to the manners of that age; and, as a profound hiſtorian remarks, it is difficult by any other means to account either for the ſeemingly unmeaning terms of the motto, or the peculiar badge of the garter,

20. Ibid.

 which

PART I. which appears to have no reference to any purpoſe either of military uſe or ornament [21].

A DAMP, however, was ſuddenly thrown over the triumphant feſtivity of the Engliſh court, by a deſtructive peſtilence, which about this time invaded Britain, after having deſolated the greateſt part of the earth. It made its appearance firſt in the north of Aſia; encircled all that vaſt continent; viſited Africa; made its progreſs from one end of Europe to the other; and is computed to have ſwept away near a third of the inhabitants in every country through which it paſſed. Above fifty thouſand ſouls are ſaid to have periſhed by it in London alone. This grievous calamity, more than the pacific diſpoſition of the princes, ſerved to prolong the truce between England and France.

A.D. 1350. DURING this truce Philip de Valois died, without being able to re-eſtabliſh the affairs of France, which his unſucceſsful war with England had thrown into much diſorder. This monarch had, during the firſt years of his reign, obtained the appellation of *Fortunate*, and acquired the character of *Prudent*: but he ill maintained either the one or the other; leſs indeed from his own fault, than becauſe he was overmatched by the ſuperior fortune and ſuperior genius of Edward. But the incidents in the reign of his ſon John, gave the French cauſe to lament even the calamitous times of Philip. John was diſtinguiſhed by many virtues, but particularly by a ſcrupulous honour and fidelity. He was not deficient in perſonal

21. Hume, *Hiſt. England*, chap. xv.

courage;

courage; but as he wanted that maſterly prudence and foreſight, which his difficult ſituation required, his kingdom was at the ſame time diſturbed by inteſtine commotions, and oppreſſed by foreign wars.

THE principal author of theſe calamities was Charles king of Navarre, ſurnamed the Bad, and whoſe conduct fully entitled him to that appellation. He was deſcended from males of the blood royal of France. His mother was daughter of Lewis X. and he had himſelf married a daughter of the reigning king; but all theſe ties, which ought to have connected him with the throne, gave him only greater power to ſhake and overthrow it. He ſecretly entered into a correſpondence with the king of England; and he ſeduced, by his addreſs, Charles, afterwards ſurnamed the Wiſe, the king of France's eldeſt ſon, and the firſt who bore the title of Dauphin, by the re-union of the province of Dauphiny to the crown. This young prince, however, made ſenſible of the danger and folly of ſuch connections, promiſed to make atonement for the offence by the ſacrifice of his aſſociates. In concert with his father, he accordingly invited the king of Navarre, and other noblemen of the party, to a feaſt at Rouen, where they were betrayed into the hands of John. Some of the moſt obnoxious were immediately led to execution, and the king of Navarre was thrown into priſon. But this ſtroke of ſeverity in the French monarch, and of treachery in the Dauphin, was far from proving deciſive in reſtoring the royal authority. Philip of Navarre, brother to Charles the Bad, and Geoffrey d'Harcourt, put all the towns and caſtles belonging to that prince in a poſ-

A. D. 1355.

PART I. A.D. 1355. ture of defence; and they had immediate recourse to England in this desperate extremity [a].

THE truce between the two kingdoms, which had always been ill observed on both sides, was now expired; so that Edward was at liberty to support the French malcontents. The war was again renewed; and after a variety of fortunes, but chiefly in favour of the English, an event happened which nearly proved fatal to the French monarchy.

THE prince of Wales, encouraged by the success of
A.D. 1356. the first campaign, took the field with an army of only twelve thousand men; and with this small body he ventured to penetrate into the heart of France. King John, provoked at the insult offered him by this incursion, collected an army of sixty thousand combatants, and advanced by hasty marches to intercept his enemy. The prince, not aware of John's near approach, lost some days, on his march, before the castle of Remorantin, and thereby gave the French monarch an opportunity of overtaking him. The pursuers came with-
Sept. 19. in sight at Maupertuis, near Poictiers; and young Edward, sensible that his retreat was now become impracticable, prepared for battle with all the courage of a hero, and all the prudence of an experienced general. No degree of prudence or courage, however, could have saved him, had the king of France known how to make use of his present advantages. John's superiority in numbers enabled him to surround the English camp, and by intercepting all provisions, to reduce the prince to the necessity of surrendering at

[a] Froissard, liv. I.

discretion.

LETTER XL. A.D. 1356.

discretion. But the impatient ardour of the French nobility prevented this idea from striking any of the commanders; so that they immediately took measures for the assault, with full assurance of victory. But they found themselves miserably mistaken. The English adventurers received them with desperate valour, put their army to flight, and took their king prisoner.

The Black Prince, who had been carried away in pursuit of the flying enemy, finding the field entirely clear on his return, had ordered a tent to be pitched, and was reposing himself after the toils of battle, when informed of the fate of the French monarch. John had long refused to surrender himself to any one, but his "cousin the prince of Wales [23]." Here commences the real, and unexampled heroism of young Edward—the triumph of humanity and moderation over insolence and pride, in the heart of a young warrior, elated by as extraordinary and as unexpected success as had ever crowned the arms of any commander. He came forth to meet the captive king with all the marks of regard and sympathy; administered comfort to him amidst his misfortunes; paid him the tribute of praise due to his valour; and ascribed his own victory merely to the blind chance of war, or to a superior Providence, which controuls all the efforts of human force and prudence. He ordered a repast to be prepared in his tent for the royal prisoner; and he himself served at the captive's table, as if he had been one of his retinue. All his father's pretensions to the crown of France were now buried in oblivion. John in captivity received the honours of a king, which were refused him when seated on the throne of Clovis. His misfortunes, not his right, were respected: and

23 Rymer, vol. vi. Froissard, liv. i.

PART I. A.D. 1356. the French prisoners, conquered by this elevation of mind, more than by the English arms, burst into tears of admiration; which were only checked by the reflection, that such exalted heroism in an enemy must make him doubly dangerous to the independency of their native country [24].

A.D. 1357. The prince of Wales conducted his royal prisoner to Bourdeaux; and, after concluding a truce for two years, brought him over to England. Here the king of France, besides the generous treatment which he met with, had the melancholy consolation of meeting a brother in affliction. The king of Scotland had been for eleven years a captive in the hands of Edward, whose superior genius and fortune had reduced at once the two neighbouring potentates, with whom he was engaged in war, to the condition of prisoners in his capital. Finding, however, that the conquest of Scotland was no wise advanced by the captivity of its sovereign, Edward consented to restore David Bruce to his liberty, for the ransom of one hundred thousand marks sterling; and that prince delivered the sons of all his principal nobility, as hostages for the payment [25].

Meanwhile, the captivity of the French monarch, joined to the preceding disorders of the kingdom, had produced an almost total dissolution of civil authority, and occasioned the most horrible and destructive violences ever experienced in any age or country. The Dauphin, now about nineteen years of age, naturally assumed the reins of government during his father's captivity; but, though endowed with an excellent judgment, even in such early years, he possessed neither experience nor ability sufficient to

24. Froissart, ubi sup. 25. Rymer, vol. vi.

remedy the prevailing evils. In order to obtain ſupplies, he aſſembled the ſtates of the kingdom. But that national aſſembly, inſtead of ſupporting his adminiſtration, were themſelves ſeized with the ſpirit of licentiouſneſs; and laid hold of the preſent opportunity to demand limitations of the regal power, the puniſhment of paſt malverſations, and the liberty of the king of Navarre. Marcel, provoſt of the merchants of Paris, and firſt magiſtrate of that city, put himſelf at the head of the unruly populace; and from the violence and temerity of his character, puſhed them to commit the moſt criminal outrages againſt the royal authority. They detained the Dauphin in a kind of captivity: they murdered in his preſence Robert de Clermont and John de Conflans, mareſchals of France: they threatened all the other miniſters with the like fate; and when Charles, who had been obliged to temporize and diſſemble, made his eſcape from their hands, they levied war againſt him, and openly erected the ſtandard of rebellion. The other cities of the kingdom, in imitation of the capital, ſhook off the Dauphin's authority; took the government into their own hands, and ſpread the contagion into every province. The wild ſtate of nature ſeemed to be renewed in the boſom of ſociety: every man was thrown looſe and independent of his fellow-citizens.

THE nobles, whoſe inclinations led them to adhere to the crown, and were naturally diſpoſed to check theſe tumults, had loſt all their influence. The troops, who could no longer be retained in diſcipline, by reaſon of the want of pay, throwing off all regard to their officers, ſought the means of ſubſiſtence by pillage and robbery; and aſſociating with them all the diſorderly people, with whom that age abounded, in-

feſted

fested every quarter of the kingdom in numerous bodies. They desolated the open country, burned and plundered the villages; and by cutting off all means of communication or subsistence, reduced to necessity even the inhabitants of the fortified towns.

The peasants, formerly oppressed, and now left unprotected by their masters, became desperate from their present misery; and rising every where in arms, carried to the last extremity those disorders, which were derived from the sedition of the citizens and disbanded soldiers. The gentry, hated for their tyranny, were every where exposed to the violence of popular rage; and, instead of meeting with the respect due to their rank, became only, on that account, the object of more wanton insult to the mutinous rustics. They were hunted like wild beasts, and put to the sword without mercy. Their castles were consumed with fire, and levelled with the ground; while their wives and daughters were subject to violation, and then murdered.

A body of nine thousand of those savage boors broke into Meaux, where the wife of the Dauphin, the duchess of Orleans, and above three hundred other ladies had taken shelter. The most brutal treatment and fatal consequences were apprehended by this fair and helpless company; when the count de Foix and the captal de Buche, with the assistance of only sixty knights, animated with the true spirit of chivalry, flew to the rescue of the ladies, and beat off the brutal and rapacious peasants with great slaughter[18].

Amidst these disorders the king of Navarre made his escape from prison, and presented a dangerous leader to the furious malcontents. He revived his pre-

18. Froissard, liv. i. St. Palaye, sur l'Ancien Chevalerie.

LETTER XL.

A.D. 1358.

tenſions to the crown of France; but in all his operations he acted more like a captain of banditti than one who aſpired to be the head of a regular government, and who was engaged by his ſtation to endeavour the re-eſtabliſhment of order in the community. All the French, therefore, who wiſhed to reſtore peace to their deſolated country, turned their eyes towards the Dauphin; who, though not remarkable for his military talents, daily gained by his prudence and vigilance, the aſcendant over his enemies. Marcel, the ſeditious provoſt of Paris, was ſlain in attempting to deliver that city to the king of Navarre. The capital immediately returned to its duty; the moſt conſiderable bodies of the mutinous peaſants were diſperſed, or put to the ſword; ſome bands of military robbers underwent the ſame fate, and France began once more to aſſume the appearance of civil government [27].

Edward appeared to have a favourale opportunity of puſhing his conqueſts, during the confuſion in the Dauphin's affairs; but his hands were tied by the truce, and the ſtate of the Engliſh finances made a ceſſation of arms neceſſary. The truce, however, no ſooner expired than he invaded France anew with the whole military force of England. He ravaged the country without oppoſition; pillaged many towns, and levied contributions upon others; but finding that he could not ſubſiſt his army in a kingdom waſted by foreign and domeſtic enemies, he prudently concluded the peace of Bretigni, which ſeemed to ſecure eſſential advantages to his crown. By this peace, it was ſtipulated, that John ſhould pay three millions of crowns of gold for his ranſom; that Edward ſhould for ever renounce all claim to the crown of France, and

A.D. 1359.

A.D. 1360.

27. Froiſſard, ubi ſup.

to

PART I. A.D. 1360. to the provinces of Normandy, Maine, Touraine, and Anjou, possessed by his ancestors; in exchange for which he should receive the provinces of Poitou, Saintonge, l'Agenois, Perigord, the Limousin, Quercy, Rouergue, l'Angoumois, and other districts in that quarter, together with Calais, Guisnes, Montreuil, and the county of Ponthieu, on the other side of France; that the full sovereignty of those provinces, as well as of Guienne, should be vested in the crown of England; and that France should renounce all title to feudal jurisdiction, homage, or appeal from them[28].

In consequence of this treaty, the King of France was restored to his liberty; but many difficulties arising with respect to the execution of some of the articles, he took the honourable resolution of coming over A.D. 1363. to England in person, in order to adjust them. His council endeavoured to dissuade him from this design, which they represented as rash and impolitic; and insinuated, that he ought to elude as far as possible the execution of so disadvantageous a treaty. "Though "justice and good faith," replied John, "were ba- "nished from the rest of the earth, they ought still "to retain their habitation in the breasts of princes!" And he accordingly came over to his former lodg- A.D. 1364. ings in the Savoy; where he soon after sickened, and died[29].

John was succeeded in the throne of France by his son, Charles V. a prince educated in the school of adversity, and well qualified, by his prudence and experience, to repair the losses which the kingdom had sustained from the errors of his predecessors. Con-

28. Rymer, vol. vi. 29. Froissard, ubi sup.

trary

trary to the practice of all the great princes of those times, who held nothing in estimation but military courage, he seems to have laid it down as a maxim, never to appear at the head of his armies. He was the first European monarch, that shewed the advantage of policy and foresight over a rash and precipitate valour. A.D. 1364.

BEFORE Charles could think of counterbalancing so great a power as England, it was necessary for him to remedy the many disorders to which his own kingdom was exposed. He accordingly turned his arms against the king of Navarre, the great disturber of France during that age; and he defeated that prince, and reduced him to terms, by the valour and conduct of Bertrand du Guesclin, one of the most accomplished captains of those times, whom Charles had the discernment to chuse as the instrument of his victories. A.D. 1365. He also settled the affairs of Brittany, by acknowledging the title of Mountfort, and receiving homage for his dominions. But much was yet to do.

ON the conclusion of the peace of Bretigni, a multitude of military adventurers, who had followed the prosperous fortunes of Edward, being dispersed into the several provinces of France, and possessed of strongholds, refused to lay down their arms, or relinquish a course of life to which they were now accustomed, and by which alone they could earn a subsistence. They therefore associated themselves with the banditti, who were already inured to the habits of rapine and violence; and under the name of *Companies* and *Companions*, became a terror to the peaceable inhabitants. Some English and Gascon gentlemen of character were not ashamed to take the command of these ruffians, whose number amounted to near forty thousand, and who bore the

PART I. A.D. 1364.

the appearance of regular armies rather than bands of robbers[30]. As Charles was not able by force to redress so enormous a grievance, he was led by necessity, and by the turn of his character, to correct it by policy; to discover some method of discharging into foreign countries this dangerous and intestine evil. And an occasion soon offered.

Alphonso XI. king of Castile, who took the city of Algeziras from the Moors, after a famous siege of two years, had been succeeded, in 1350, by his son Peter I. surnamed the Cruel; a prince equally perfidious, debauched, and bloody. He began his reign with the murder of his father's mistress, Leonora de Gusman: his nobles fell every day the victims of his severity: he put to death his cousin, and one of his natural brothers, from groundless jealousy; and he caused his queen, Blanche de Bourbon, of the blood royal of France, to be thrown into prison, and afterwards poisoned, that he might enjoy in quiet the embraces of Mary de Padella, with whom he was violently enamoured.

Henry, count of Transtamara, the king of Spain's natural brother, alarmed at the fate of his family, and

A.D. 1366. dreading his own, took arms against the tyrant; but having failed in the attempt, he fled into France where he found the minds of men inflamed against Peter, on account of the murder of the French princess. He asked permission of Charles to enlist the *Companies* in his service, and to lead them into Castile against his brother. The French monarch, charmed with the project, employed du Guesclin in negociating with the leaders of those banditti. The treaty was soon concluded: and du Guesclin having completed his levies, led the army first to Avignon, where the pope then resided,

30. Ibid.

and

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A. D. 1366.

and demanded, ſword in hand, abſolution for his ruffian ſoldiers, who had been excommunicated, and the ſum of two hundred thouſand livres, for their ſubſiſtence. The firſt was readily promiſed him; but ſome difficulty being made with reſpect to the ſecond, du Gueſclin replied, "My fellows, I believe, may make "a ſhift to do without your abſolution: but the mo-"ney is abſolutely neceſſary." His Holineſs now extorted from the inhabitants of the city and its neighbourhood the ſum of one hundred thouſand livres, and offered it to du Gueſclin. "It is not my purpoſe," ſaid that generous warrior, "to oppreſs the innocent "people. The pope and his cardinals can ſpare me "double the ſum from their own pockets. I there-"fore inſiſt, that this money be reſtored to the own-"ers: and if I hear they are defrauded of it, I will, "myſelf return from the other ſide of the Pyrenees, "and oblige you to make them reſtitution." The pope found the neceſſity of ſubmitting, and paid from his own treaſury the ſum demanded[31]. Thus hallowed by the bleſſings, and enriched by the ſpoils of the church, du Gueſclin and his army proceeded on their expedition!

A. D. 1367.

A BODY of experienced and hardy ſoldiers, conducted by ſo able a general, eaſily prevailed over the king of Caſtile, whoſe ſubjects were ready to join the enemy againſt their oppreſſor. Peter fled from his dominions, took ſhelter in Guienne, and craved the protection of the Black Prince, whom the king of England had inveſted with the ſovereignty of the ceded provinces, under the title of the principality of Aquitaine. The prince promiſed his aſſiſtance to the dethroned monarch; and having obtained his father's conſent, he levied an army, and ſet out on his enterprize.

31. *Hiſt. de Gueſclin.*

THE

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A.D. 1367.

The first loss which Henry of Transtamare suffered from the interposition of the prince of Wales, was the recalling of the *Companies* from his service: and so much reverence did they pay to the name of Edward, that great numbers of them immediately withdrew from Spain, and enlisted under his standard. Henry, however, beloved by his own subjects, and supported by the king of Arragon, was able to meet the enemy with an army of one hundred thousand men, three times the number of those commanded by the Black Prince; yet du Guesclin, and all his experienced officers, advised him to delay a decisive action; so high was their opinion of the valour and conduct of the English hero!—But Henry, trusting to his numbers, ventured to give Edward battle on the banks of the Ebro, between Najara and Navarette; where the French and Spaniards were defeated, with the loss of above twenty thousand men, and du Guesclin and other officers of distinction taken prisoners. All Castile submitted to the victor; Peter was restored to the throne; and Edward returned to Guienne with his usual glory; having not only overcome the greatest general of his age, but restrained the most blood-thirsty tyrant from executing vengeance on his prisoners[12].

But this gallant warrior had soon reason to repent his connections with a prince like Peter, lost to all sense of virtue and honour. That ungrateful monster refused the stipulated pay to the English forces. Edward abandoned him. He treated his subjects with the utmost barbarity; their animosity was roused against him; and du Guesclin, having obtained his ransom, returned to Castile with the count of Transtamare, and some forces levied anew in France. They were joined by the Spanish malcontents; and having no longer

12. Froissard, liv. i.

the

the ſuperior genius, and the ſuperior fortune of the Black Prince to encounter, they gained a complete victory over Peter in the neighbourhood of Toledo. The tyrant now took refuge in a caſtle, where he was ſoon after beſieged by the victors, and taken priſoner, in endeavouring to make his eſcape. He was conducted to his brother Henry; againſt whom he is ſaid to have ruſhed, in a tranſport of rage, diſarmed as he was. Henry ſlew him with his own hand, in reſentment of his cruelties; and, though a baſtard, was honoured with the crown of Caſtile, which he tranſmitted to his poſterity [33]. LETTER XL. A.D. 1368.

In the mean time the affairs of the Black Prince were fallen into ſome diſorder. He had involved himſelf ſo much in debt by his Spaniſh expedition, that he found it neceſſary, on his return, to impoſe on his foreign principality a new tax, which ſome of the nobility paid with extreme reluctance, and to which others abſolutely refuſed to ſubmit. They carried their complaints to the king of France, as their lord paramount; and, as the renunciations agreed to in the treaty of Bretigni had never been made, Charles ſeized this opportunity, to renew his claim of ſuperiority over the Engliſh provinces [34]. In this reſolution he was encouraged by the declining years of Edward III. and the languiſhing ſtate of the prince of Wales's health: A.D. 1369. he therefore ſent the prince a ſummons to appear in his court at Paris, and juſtify his conduct towards his vaſſals. The prince replied, that he would come to Paris, but it ſhould be at the head of ſixty thouſand men. War was renewed between France and Eng-

33. Id. ibid. 34. T. Walſingham. Froiſſard, ubi ſup.

land, and with singular reverse of fortune. The low state of the prince of Wales's health not permitting him to exert his usual activity, the French were victorious in almost every action; and when he was obliged, by
A. D. 1370. his increasing infirmities, to throw up the command, and return to his native country, the affairs of the English went to total ruin on the continent. They were stript, in a few years of all their ancient possessions in France, except Bourdeaux and Bayonne; and of all their conquests, except Calais [35].

THESE misfortunes abroad were followed by the decay of the king's authority at home. This was chiefly occasioned by his extravagant attachment to Alice Pierce, a young lady of wit and beauty, whose influence over him had given such general disgust, as to become the object of a parliamentary remonstrance. The indolence naturally attendant on years and infirmities, had also made Edward resign the administration into the hands of his son, the duke of Lancaster, whose unpopular manners and proceedings weakened extremely the affections of the English to their sove-
A. D. 1376. reign. Meanwhile the prince of Wales died; leaving behind him a character adorned with every eminent virtue, and which would throw lustre on the most shining period of ancient or modern history. The king survived that melancholy incident only about
A. D. 1377. twelve months. He expired in the sixty-fifth year of his age, and the fifty-first of his reign; one of the longest and most glorious in the English annals. His latter days were indeed somewhat obscured, by the infirmities and the follies of old age; but he was no sooner dead than the people of England were sensible of their irreparable loss, and posterity considers him as the greatest and most accomplished prince of his time.

35. Ibid.

LETTER XL.

A. D. 1377.

The domeſtic government of Edward was even more worthy of admiration than his foreign victories. By the prudence and vigour of his adminiſtration, England enjoyed a longer term of interior peace and tranquillity than it had been bleſt with in any former period, or than it experienced for many ages after. He gained the affections of the great, yet curbed their licentiouſneſs. His affable and obliging behaviour, his munificence and generoſity, made them ſubmit with pleaſure to his dominion: his valour and conduct made them ſucceſsful in moſt military enterprizes; and their unquiet ſpirits, directed againſt a public enemy, had no leiſure to breed thoſe private feuds to which they were naturally ſo much diſpoſed. This internal tranquillity was the chief benefit that England derived from Edward's continental expeditions: and the miſeries of the reign of his ſucceſſor made the nation fully ſenſible of the value of the bleſſing.

But before I ſpeak of the adminiſtration of Richard II. the unhappy ſon of the Black Prince, I muſt carry forward the affairs of the German empire. At preſent, however, it will be proper to obſerve, That the French monarch, Charles V. whoſe prudent conduct had acquired him the ſurname of *Wiſe*, died ſoon after Edward III. while he was attempting to expel the Engliſh from the few places which they ſtill retained in France, and left his kingdom to a minor ſon of the ſame name, Charles VI. ſo that England and France were now both under the government of minors. And both experienced the misfortunes of a turbulent and divided regency.

LETTER XLI.

The GERMAN EMPIRE *and its Dependencies*, ROME *and the* ITALIAN STATES, *from the Election of* LEWIS *of* BAVARIA *to the Death of* CHARLES IV.

LETTER XLI.

WE now, my dear Philip, approach to that æra in the history of the German empire, when the famous constitution, called the Golden Bull, was established; which, among other things, settled the number and the rights of the electors, as yet uncertain, and productive of many disorders.

HENRY VII. as you have already seen struggled hard to recover the sovereignty of Italy; but he died before he was able to accomplish his purpose. His death was followed by an interregnum of fourteen months, which were employed in the intrigues of Lewis of Bavaria, and of Frederick the Handsome, duke of Austria. Lewis was elected by the greater
A.D. 1315. number of the princes; but Frederick being chosen and supported by a faction, disputed the empire with him. A furious civil war, which long desolated both Italy and Germany, was the consequence of this opposition. At
A.D. 1319. last the two competitors met near Muldorf, and agreed to decide their important dispute by thirty champions, fifteen against fifteen. The champions accordingly engaged in presence of both armies, and fought with such fury, that in a short time not one of them was left alive. A general action followed, in which the Austrians were worsted. But this victory was not decisive. Frederick soon repaired his loss, and even ravaged Bavaria. The Bavarian assembled a powerful
A.D. 1322. army, in order to oppose his rival; and the battle of Vechivis, in which the duke of Austria was taken prisoner,

prisoner, fixed the imperial crown on the head of Lewis V[1]. LETTER XLI. A. D. 1322.

During the course of these struggles was fought, between the Swiss and Austrians, the memorable battle of Morgart; which established the liberty of Swisserland, as the victory of Marathon had formerly done that of Greece: and Attic eloquence only was wanting to render it equally famous. Sixteen hundred Swiss, from the cantons of Uri, Schwitz, and Underwald, defeated an army of twenty thousand Austrians, in passing the mountains near Morgart, in 1315, and drove them out of the country with terrible slaughter. The alliance which these three cantons had entered into for the term of ten years, was now converted into a perpetual league; and the other cantons occasionally joined in it[2].

Lewis V. had no sooner humbled the duke of Austria than a new antagonist started up: — he had the pope to encounter. The reigning pontiff at that time was John XXII. who had been elected at Lyons in 1315, by the influence of Philip the Long, king of France. John was the son of a cobler, and one of those men who, raised to power by chance or merit, are haughty in proportion to the meanness of their birth. He had not hitherto, however, interfered in the affairs of the empire; but now, all at once, he set himself up as its judge and master. He declared the election of Lewis void: he maintained, A. D. 1324. that it was the right of the sovereign pontiff to examine and confirm the election of emperors; that the government, during a vacancy, belonged to him: and he commanded the emperor, by virtue of his

1. Avent. *Annal. Boior.* lib. vii. 2. Simler, *de Repub. Helvetic.*

 apostolic

PART I. A. D. 1324. apostolic power, to lay aside the imperial ensigns, until he should receive permission from the Holy See to reassume them [3].

Several attempts were made by Lewis towards a reconciliation with his Holiness, but in vain: the proud pontiff was inflexible, and would listen to no reasonable conditions. The emperor, therefore, jealous of the independency of his crown, endeavoured to strengthen his interest both in Italy and Germany. He continued the government of Milan in the family of the Visconti, who were rather masters than magistrates of that city; and he conferred the government of Lucca on Castruccio Castruccani, a celebrated captain, whose life is pompously written by Machiavel. The German princes were mostly in his interest, and no less jealous than he of the dignity of the empire.

A. D. 1325. Enraged at such firmness, pope John excommunicated and deposed the emperor Lewis, and endeavoured to get Charles the Fair, king of France, elected in his room. But this attempt miscarried. None of the German princes, except Leopold of Austria, came to the place appointed for an interview with the French monarch; and the imprudent and ambitious Charles returned chagrined and disappointed into his own dominions [4].

Thus freed from a dangerous rival, the emperor A. D. 1327. marched into Italy, in order to establish his authority in that country. He was crowned at Milan, and afterwards at Rome; where he ordered the following proclamation to be made three times by an Augustine

3. Steph. Baluzii, *Vit. Pontiff. Avenion.* vol. i. 4. Villani, lib. ix.

LETTER XLI.

friar: "Is there any one who will defend the cause of "the priest of Cahors, who calls himself pope John?" —And no person appearing, sentence was immediately pronounced against his Holiness. Lewis declared him convicted of heresy, deprived him of all his dignities and benefices, and delivered him over to the secular power, in order to suffer the punishment of fire; and Peter Rainaucci, a Neapolitan Cordelier, was created pope under the name of Nicholas V [5]. A.D. 1328.

BUT Lewis, notwithstanding this mighty parade, was soon obliged, like his predecessors, to quit Italy, in order to quell the troubles of Germany; and pope John, though a refugee on the banks of the Rhone, recovered his authority in Rome. The Imperialists were expelled the city; and Nicholas V. the emperor's pope, was carried to Avignon, where, with a rope about his neck, he publicly implored forgiveness of his rival, and ended his days in prison [6]. A.D. 1330.

THE emperor, in the mean time, remained in peace at Munich, having settled the affairs of Germany. But he still lay under the censures of the church, and the pope continued to solicit the princes of the empire to revolt against him. Lewis was preparing to assemble a general council, in order to depose his Holiness a second time, when the death of John made such a measure unnecessary, and relieved the emperor from all dread of the spiritual thunder. This turbulent pope, who first invented the taxes for dispensations and mortal sins, died immensely rich. He was succeeded in the papacy by James Fournier, surnamed the White Cardinal, who assumed the name of Benedict XII [7]. A.D. 1334.

5. Baluzii, ubi sup. 6. Ibid. 7. Baluz. *Vit. Pontif. Avenion.*

 THE

PART I. A.D. 1334.

THE new pope, who seemed desirous to tread in the steps of his predecessor, confirmed all the bulls which had been issued by John against the emperor. But Lewis had now affairs of more importance to engage his attention than those impotent fulminations. John of Luxemburg, second son of the king of Bohemia, had married Margaret, surnamed Great Mouth, heiress of Carinthia; and that princess accusing her husband of impotency, a bishop of Frisingen dissolved the marriage, and she espoused the margrave of Brandenburg, son of the emperor Lewis, who readily consented to a match that added Tyrol and Carinthia to the possessions of his family. This marriage produced a war between the houses of Bavaria and Bohemia, which lasted only one year, but occasioned abundance of bloodshed; and the parties came

A.D. 1336.

to a very singular accommodation. John of Luxemburg confessed that his wife had reason to forsake him, renounced all claim to her, and ratified her marriage with the margrave of Brandenburg [3].

THIS affair being settled, Lewis exerted all his endeavours to appease the domestic troubles of the empire, which were still kept alive by the intrigues of the pope; and notwithstanding all the injuries and insults he had sustained, he made several attempts towards an accommodation with the Holy See. But these negociations being rendered ineffectual by the influence of France, the princes of the empire, eccle-

A.D. 1338.

siastical as well as secular, assembled at Frankfort, and established that famous constitution, by which it was irrevocably fixed, "That the plurality of the suffrages "of the electoral college confers the empire, "without the consent of the Holy See; that the

3. Hist. de Luxembourg.

"pope

"pope has no ſuperiority over the emperor of Germany, nor any right to approve or reject his election; and that to maintain the contrary is high-treaſon." They alſo refuted the abſurd claim of the popes to the government of the empire during a vacancy; and declared, That this right appertains, by ancient cuſtom, to the count Palatine of the Rhine[9]. A.D. 1338.

GERMANY now enjoyed for ſome years what it had ſeldom known, the bleſſings of peace; which was again interrupted by the court of Avignon. Benedict XII. was ſucceeded in the papacy by Clement VI. a native of France, and ſo haughty and enterpriſing as to affirm that his "predeceſſors did not know what it was to be "popes." He began his pontificate with renewing all the bulls iſſued againſt Lewis; with naming a vicar-general of the empire in Lombardy, and endeavouring to make all Italy ſhake off the emperor's authority.

LEWIS, ſtill deſirous of an accommodation with the Holy See, amidſt all theſe acts of enmity, ſent ambaſſadors to the court of Avignon. But the conditions preſcribed by his Holineſs were ſo unreaſonable, that they were rejected with diſdain by a diet of the empire, as an inſult upon the imperial dignity. Clement, more incenſed than ever at this inſtance of diſregard, fulminated new excommunications againſt the emperor. "May the wrath of God," ſays the enraged pontiff in one of his bulls, "and of St. Peter "and St. Paul, cruſh him in this world, and that "which is to come! May the earth open and ſwallow him alive; may his memory periſh, and all A.D. 1346.

9. Heiſs, liv. ii. chap. 26.

"the

PART I. A.D. 1346.

"the elements be his enemies; and may his children "fall into the hands of his adversaries, even in the "sight of their father[10]."

CLEMENT issued another bull for the election of a new emperor; and Charles of Luxemburg, margrave of Moravia, afterwards known by the name of Charles IV. son and heir of John, king of Bohemia, having made the necessary concessions to his Holiness, was elected king of the Romans by a faction. Lewis, however, maintained his authority till his death, which happened soon after the election of his rival; when Charles, rather by his money than his valour, got possession of the imperial throne.

A.D. 1347.

WHILE these things were transacting in Germany, a singular scene was exhibited in Italy. Nicholas Rienzi, a private citizen of Rome, but an eloquent, bold, enterprising man, and a patriot, seeing that city abandoned by the emperors and the popes, set himself up as the restorer of the Roman liberty and the Roman power. Proclaimed tribune by the people, and put in possession of the Capitol, he declared all the inhabitants of Italy free, and denizens of Rome. But these convulsive struggles of long-expiring freedom, like many others, proved ineffectual. Rienzi, who styled himself "the severe though merciful Deliverer of Rome, "the zealous Assertor of the Liberties of Italy, and "the Lover of all Mankind," as he attempted to imitate the Gracchi, met the same fate, being murdered by the patrician faction[11].

A SCENE no less extraordinary was, about this time, exhibited at Naples. The kingdoms of Naples and

10. *Annal. de l'Emp.* tom. ii.

11. Id. ibid.

Sicily

LETTER XLI.

A.D. 1347.

Sicily ſtill continued to be ruled by foreigners. Naples was governed by the houſe of France, and Sicily by that of Arragon. Robert of Anjou, ſon of Charles the Lame, though he had failed in his attempt to recover poſſeſſion of Sicily, had made Naples a flouriſhing kingdom. He died in 1343, and left his crown to Joan his grand-daughter, who had married her relation Andrew, brother to Lewis of Anjou, elected king of Hungary; a match which ſeemed to cement the happineſs and proſperity of that houſe, but proved the ſource of all its misfortunes. Andrew pretended to reign in his own right; and Joan, though but eighteen years of age, inſiſted that he ſhould only be conſidered as the queen's huſband. A Franiſcan friar, called Brother Robert, by whoſe advice Andrew was wholly governed, lighted up the flames of hatred and diſcord between the royal pair; and the Hungarians, of whom Andrew's court was chiefly compoſed, excited the jealouſy of the Neapolitans, who conſidered them as barbarians. It was therefore reſolved, in a council of the queen's favourites, to put Andrew to death. He was accordingly ſtrangled in his wife's antichamber: and Joan married the prince of Tarentum, who had been publicly accuſed of the murder of her huſband, and was well known to have been concerned in that bloody deed. How ſtrong a preſumption of her own guilt!

In the meantime Lewis king of Hungary, brother to the murdered Andrew, wrote to Joan, that he would revenge the death of that unfortunate prince on her and her accomplices. He accordingly ſet out for Naples by the way of Venice and Rome. At Rome he publicly accuſed Joan, before the tribune Rienzi; A.D. 1348.

PART I. A.D. 1348. Rienzi; who, during the existence of his transitory power, beheld several kings appealing to his tribunal, as was customary in the times of the ancient republic. Rienzi however declined giving his decision; a moderation by which he at least gave one example of his prudence: and Lewis advanced towards Naples, carrying along with him a black standard, on which was painted the most striking circumstances of Andrew's murder. He ordered a prince of the blood, and one of the accomplices in the regicide, to be beheaded. Joan and her husband fled into Provence; where finding herself utterly abandoned by her subjects, she waited on Pope Clement VI. at Avignon, a city of which she was sovereign, as countess of Provence, and which she sold to that pontiff, together with its territories, for eighty thousand florins in gold, which a celebrated historian tells us were never paid. Here she pleaded her cause in person before the pope, and was acquitted. But perhaps the desire of possessing Avignon had some influence upon the judgment of his Holiness.

Clement's kindess did not stop here. In order to engage the king of Hungary to quit Naples, he proposed that Joan should pay him a sum of money; but as ambition or avarice had no share in Lewis's enterprize, he generously replied, "I am not come "hither to sell my brother's blood, but to revenge A. D. 1352. it!" and as he had partly effected his purpose he went away satisfied, though the kingdom of Naples was in his power[12]. Joan recovered her dominions, but only to become more wretched. Of her unhappy fate, I shall afterwards have occasion to speak.

12. Villani, lib. xii.

LETTER XLI.

We muſt now return to the affairs of the emperor Charles IV. This prince, who was equally diſtinguiſhed by his weakneſs and pride, had no ſooner ſettled the affairs of Germany than he went to receive the imperial crown at Rome, where he behaved in a manner more puſilanimous than any of his predeceſſors. The coronation ceremony was no ſooner performed than he retired without the walls, in conſequence of an agreement which he had made with the pope; though the Romans came to offer him the government of their city, as his hereditary right, and entreated him to re-eſtabliſh their ancient liberty. He told the deputies he would deliberate on the propoſal. But being apprehenſive of ſome treachery, he ſneaked off in the evening, under pretence of going to take the diverſion of hunting. And he afterwards ratified and confirmed many promiſes extorted from him by Clemeat VI. very much to the prejudice of the empire in Italy [13]. A.D. 1355.

The poet Petrarch, ſo highly celebrated for his love-verſes, wrote a letter to Charles upon this occaſion, in which are found theſe ſpirited words: "You have then promiſed upon oath, never to return "to Rome!—What ſhameful conduct in an emperor, "to be compelled by a prieſt to content himſelf with "the bare title of Cæſar, and to exile himſelf for "ever from the habitation of the Cæſars! to be "crowned emperor, and then probibited from reign-"ing, or acting as head of the empire!—What an "inſult upon him who ought to command the uni-"verſe, to be no longer maſter of himſelf, but redu-"ced to obey his own vaſſal [14]. A.D. 1356.

13. Fleury, tom. xx. liv. 96.

14. *De Vit. Solit.* lib. ii.

THIS

PART I.
A. D. 1356.

THIS emperor seemed to have renounced entirely the politics of his predecessors; for he not only discouraged and rejected the proffers of the Ghibelines, but affected to treat them as enemies to religion, and actually supported the Guelphs. By these means he procured the favour of the pope and his dependents, who flattered him with the most fulsome adulation; but the Italians in general viewed him with contempt, and the greater part of the towns attached to the empire shut their gates against him. At Cremona he was obliged to wait two hours without the walls, before he received the answer of the magistrates; who, at last,, only permitted him to enter as a simple stranger, without arms or retinue[15].

CHARLES IV. made a more respectable figure after his return to Germany. The number of electorates had been fixed since the time of Henry VII. more by custom than by laws, but not the number of electors. The duke of Bavaria presumed he had a right to elect as well as the count Palatine, the elder branch of their family; and the younger brothers of the house of Saxony believed themselves entitled to vote as well as the elder. The emperor therefore resolved to settle these points, that due subordination might take place, and future elections be conducted without confusion or disorder. For this purpose he ordered a diet to be assembled at Nuremburg, where the famous constitution, called the *Golden Bull*, was established, in the presence, and with the consent of all the princes, bishops, abbots, and the deputies of the imperial cities.

15. Barre, tom. ii. Spond. *Contin.* Baron. tom. i.

LETTER XLI.

A.D. 1356.

THE ſtyle of that celebrated charter partakes ſtrongly of the ſpirit of the times. It begins with an apoſtrophe to Satan, anger, pride, luxury; and it ſays, that it is neceſſary the number of electors ſhould be Seven, in order to oppoſe the Seven mortal ſins. It ſpeaks of the fall of the angels, of a heavenly paradiſe, of Pompey, and of Cæſar; and it aſſerts, that the government of Germany is founded on the three theological virtues, as on the Trinity. The ſeven electors were, as formerly premiſed, the archbiſhops of Mentz, Cologne, and Triers, the king of Bohemia, the count Palatine, the duke of Saxony, and the margrave of Brandenburg.

THE imperial dignity, which of itſelf then conferred little real power, never ſhewed more of that luſtre which dazzles the eyes of the people than on the publication of this famous edict. The three eccleſiaſtical electors, all three arch chancellors, appeared in the proceſſion with the ſeals of the empire; the archbiſhop of Mentz carried that of Germany, the archbiſhop of Cologne that of Italy, and the archbiſhop of Triers, that of Gaul; though the empire now poſſeſſed nothing in Gaul, except a claim to empty homage for the remains of the kingdoms of Arles, Provence, and Dauphiné. How little power Charles had in Italy, we have already ſeen. Beſides granting to the pope all the lands claimed by the Holy See, he left the family of Viſconti in the quiet poſſeſſion of Milan and Lombardy, which they had uſurped from him, and the Venetians in that of Padua, Vicenza, and Verona[16]. I muſt now return to the ceremonial.

16. Id. ibid.

THE

PART I. A. D. 1356. THE duke of Luxemburg and Brabant, who represented the king of Bohemia, as great cup-bearer, presented the emperor with his drink, poured from a golden flagon into a cup of the same metal; the duke of Saxony, as grand marshal, appeared with a silver measure filled with oats; the elector of Bradenburg presented the emperor and empress with water to wash in a golden ewer, placed in a golden bason; and the count Palatine served up the victuals in golden dishes in presence of all the great officers of the empire[17].

THE latter part of the reign of Charles IV. was distinguished by no remarkable transaction except the sale of the imperial jurisdictions in Italy; which were again resumed, and again sold. Charles, who was reputed a good prince, but a weak emperor, was A. D. 1378. succeeded in all his possessions and dignities by his son, Winceslaus, whom I shall afterward have occasion to mention.---We must now proceed to the affairs of England; remarking by the way, that Charles IV. was an encourager of letters, and founded the university of Prague.

17. Heiss, liv. ii. chap. 27.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.